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ABSTRACT

This paper reports a 2-year study of education policy that sought to identify, describe, and analyze the essential building blocks of state-level education policy and to discover the factors responsible for creating differences among states in their use of these elements to construct an overall framework for school regulation and support. Sample selection for the study involved two analytical levels: identification of a sample of six state policy systems, and selection of 140 key actors within those states for interview and survey data collection. The six states are: Arizona, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Wisconsin. After an executive summary, chapter 1 outlines the background for the study of state education policy systems and lists 26 references. Chapter 2 describes the research design and methodology for the study and lists 18 references. Chapter 3 examines the state policy mechanisms of ranking, attention, and knowledgeability. Chapter 4 looks at competing approaches to seven alternative state policy mechanisms. The fifth chaper explores values in legislative codes and cites nine references. Chapter 6 examines political culture values of state education policymakers and cites 32 references. Chapter 7 looks at state statistical profiles that illuminate educational policy in the six sample states. The eighth chapter describes public values as origins of policy actions. Chapter 9 explores the influence, power, and policymaking processes and lists nine references. The final chapter examines assumptive worlds and education policymakers and cites 37 references. A total of 65 tables, 40 figures, and 10 appendices containing the study instruments and data collection forms are included. (WTH)

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FINAL REPORT

ALTERNATIVE STATE POLICY MECHANISMS
FOR PURSUING
EDUCATIONAL QUALITY, EQUITY, EFFICIENCY AND CHOICE GOALS

Douglas E. Mitchell
University of California, Riverside

Frederick M. Wirt
University of Illinois, Urbana

Catherine Marshall
Peabody College, Vanderbilt University

October, 1986

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ALTERNATIVE STATE POLICY MECHANISMS
FOR PURSUING
EDUCATIONAL QUALITY, EQUITY, EFFICIENCY AND CHOICE GOALS

EDUCATION POLICY IN THE STATES

Overview

Education is on the minds of state level policy makers throughout the nation. A broad array of social, economic and political forces has encouraged a substantial shift in education policy initiative away from federal and local actors into the hands of state officials. Changes are particularly evident in ideological debates, financial arrangements, litigation, legislation and changing norms of professional practice.

Some changes have altered the balance of power within the states, expanding the capacity of state policy systems and redirecting their efforts. Reapportionment elevated urban and suburban political interests overall rural. Larger professional staffs in most state capitals have enhanced the capacity of legislative and executive agencies to initiate policy and encouraged the belief that reform can be accurately targeted on needed school improvements (Sharkansky, 1972; Murphy, 1982). And weakening of party discipline in many states has encouraged reform oriented political change.

At the federal level, education policy has been undergoing both ideological and fiscal retrenchment and reorganization. Reduced spending, consolidation and deregulation of programs, and public declarations of the lack of efficacy of federal action have all contributed to reducing the federal presence in the schools.

Local school districts, long the primary agencies of education policy making and program development, have also lost substantial power and initiative to state level actors. The combination of property taxpayer revolts and school finance system reforms enacted during the last decade has produced a system of inflexible, formula driven, local taxes in many states. National concerns about school program effectiveness, especially when couched in the shrill rhetoric of the National Commission on Excellence's A Nation at Risk report, has made it all but impossible for local educators to draw attention to local educational problems or issues. A quarter of a century of (only partially successful) efforts devoted to expanding educational equity for racial and linguistic minority groups, the poor, women, and children with various handicapping conditions have left a legacy of labyrinthine regulations and legalistic approaches to policy that tend to reduce innovation and initiative in local school districts. At the same time, social and demographic changes in families and communities has meant that schools face new and different demands for service -- demands which they do not always know how to identify, much less to serve adequately.

State Policy is Complex

Though it is increasingly the primary source of educational innovation and change, state level policy is complicated and uncertain in its effects. State decisionmakers have a broad range of policy options available to them -- options that are only poorly understood and uncertain in their effects on school programs and practices. The fact that state policymakers are visibly more active than in the past does not mean that their actions are either potent instruments for shaping school performance or adequately linked to their intended goals. Indeed, vitriolic critics in every state have charged that the new state activism is misguided, hampering school performance as much as helping it.

Many of the alleged shortcomings of state policy are, of course, the natural consequence of ordinary political problems -- scarce resources, conflicting interests, divergent goals, or inequitable distributions of political power. Especially in education, however, policy problems are compounded by weak conceptualization and inadequate analysis.

Appreciating these problems, the National Institute of Education funded a two year study of education policy in a representative group of states. That study, summarized briefly here and reported in full in the accompanying final report, sought to identify, describe and analyze the essential building blocks of state level education policy, and to discover the factors responsible for creating differences among states in their use of these basic policy elements in constructing an overall framework for school regulation and support.

Study Design and Data Collection

Major data collection for this research was undertaken through interviews with key participants in six state education policy systems. Two separate rounds of interviews were conducted. During the first round open-ended questions were used to secure information about the distribution of policy influence, the availability of documentary evidence, and the nature of recent policy issues and actions within the state.

Second round interviews used structured questions accompanied by five quantitative survey instruments covering: a) the distribution of influence among key actors in the state, b) state responses to the Nation at Risk report, c) policymaker value preferences, d) state political culture orientations, and e) personal background and demographic variables.

In addition to the interview and survey data, state education codes were subjected to an exhaustive content analysis in two states, and a collection of some 44 key variables reflecting social, economic, political and educational conditions in all 50 states were reviewed.

Sampling

Sample selection for the study involved two distinct analytic levels: identification of a sample of six state policy systems, and selection of 140 key actors within those states for interview and survey data collection. The six states studied were selected by stratifying all 50 states on three variables and then selecting an opportunity sample that maximized state distribution across these three variables. The three selection variables were: a) degree of urbanization, b) degree of fiscal stress, and c) political culture. High, medium and low scores on each of the first two variables were assigned and states selected to insure that all three levels on each variable were included. Additionally, two states were taken from each of Elazar's political culture types (Moralistic, Individualistic, and Traditionalistic). The resulting sample included: Arizona, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Individuals were selected within each state for first round interviews based on the following criteria:

1. An education advisor to the governor,
2. Education policy committee chairs in the legislatures,
3. Fiscal committee chairs in the legislatures,
4. Key staffers for both education and fiscal committees,
5. The chief state school officer or deputy,
6. Top executives of the state school boards association,
7. Top executives of the state administrators association,
8. Top executives of the state teacher organizations,
9. One or more state board of education members, and
10. Key informants outside government.

Second round interviewees were selected from among those identified as influential during the first round. More than 95% of all those asked to participate agreed to be interviewed.

Multiple Paths to Understanding

The major research question around which this project is centered is: How do we understand the role of values in state education policy? The is, of course, no single way of answering this central question. Rather than trying to force all data into a single explanatory or descriptive mold, this study draws upon multiple frameworks and relies on multiple methods for comprehending and interpreting the operation of social values within the policy arena.

Different ways of posing the question of values rely on different methods of data collection and interpretation. As a result, this research project is best seen as a collection of seven distinct, but interrelated, studies. Each study approaches the core question differently, each uses a different set of data, and each makes a unique contribution to our understanding of the relation between educational policy and public values. Taken separately, each of the studies makes a significant contribution to a growing body of research on state level decisionmaking. Together, they provide a powerful comprehensive view of the new role of the states in guiding and supporting public education.

MAJOR FINDINGS FROM SEVEN SUB-STUDIES

A State Policy Taxonomy . . . . (see Chapters III & IV)

The first of the seven constituent studies in this research project involved the development and clarification of a theoretically consistent and operationally powerful taxonomy of state policy mechanisms (SPMs). The development of this taxonomy is important to research and practice as well as policymaking in public education. From a research perspective, identification of an empirically reliable taxonomy is an essential pre-requisite to tracing the decisionmaking process from initial sense of problem, through policy formation and adoption, to program implementation and evaluation. That is, in order to know how policies are being shaped by various social forces or affected by organizational parameters or political structures they must be accurately classified. Similar and dissimilar types of action have to be identified before systematic regularities associated with each can be studied.

From a practical perspective, the dramatic outpouring of recent state policy initiatives is experienced as threatening and confusing to many educators. It is equally confusing to many state policy makers who, whether they wish to or not, must resolve numerous issues and decide what proposals to give the force of law and the power of public tax money. In the absence of a basic policy taxonomy, however, neither policy sponsors nor the school systems toward which they are directed can predict the effects of state actions.

Developing the Taxonomy

Development of a state policy taxonomy began with the recognition that state systems are complex and their decisions varied. A number of states have adopted broad ranging "comprehensive" school improvement programs that include various combinations of fiscal, organizational, staff development, curriculum enhancement and student assessment elements. Others have taken a much narrower and less vigorous approach to school improvement. It is fairly easy to recognize common themes and issues in many different policy actions, but it has proven far from easy to develop a classification scheme that meets the twin requirements of a taxonomy -- exhaustive and mutually exclusive classification for all policy actions.

Previous research on state level policymaking was reviewed to identify possible theoretical frameworks to serve as the basis for the needed taxonomy. Three different approaches were identified. The first distinguished policy actions on the basis of their support for one or more competing public values. A second distinguishes the economic consequences of various policy alternatives, and the third approaches the problem by identifying the control mechanisms available to states.

Field work in this research project began by adopting the third approach to taxonomy development -- the identification of alternative mechanisms available to states for controlling and guiding school performance. As the research project developed, however, it became clear that the concept of competing public values had to be combined with the notion of control mechanisms to fully describe the policy alternatives being used in various states.

The State Policy Mechanisms (SPMs)

Following extensive early field work, seven basic state policy mechanisms were identified and defined. They include:

1. School Finance -- controlling who pays for education, how these costs are distributed, and how human and fiscal resources are allocated to the schools.
2. School Personnel Training and Certification -- controlling the conditions for getting or keeping various jobs in the school system.
3. Student Testing and Assessment -- fixing the timing and consequences of testing, including subjects covered and the distribution of test data.
4. School Program Definition -- controlling program planning and accreditation, or otherwise specifying what schools must teach, how long they must teach it, or how students are to be grouped for learning.
5. School Organization and Governance -- the assignment of authority and responsibility to various groups and individuals to control or direct school operations and programs.
6. Curriculum Materials Development and Specification -- controlling the development and/or selection of textbooks and other instructional materials.
7. School Buildings and Facilities -- determination of the architecture, placement and maintenance for buildings and other school facilities.

The 140 key policymakers in this study were asked three questions about these seven alternative state policy mechanisms:

A. How much attention is being given to each mechanism in your state?

B. Are the various mechanisms being given too much or too little attention?

C. Which mechanisms to you feel most knowledgeable about? Responses to these three questions verified the adequacy of these concepts to classify virtually all recent policy activity, and provided a robust means for distinguishing among individual policymakers and between states. As detailed in Chapter III of the final report, we found a remarkably high level of agreement among respondents in all six states regarding the most prominent and least prominent educational policy mechanisms. Fully 46% of the variance in all individual responses regarding the level of attention being given to various policy mechanisms is reflected in a general agreement, placing allocation of fiscal resources to the schools at the top of the list, and ranking school building and facilities policies as the least frequently utilized mechanism.

Across the sample states, the seven policy mechanisms were seen as involving four distinct levels of state action. School finance, by itself, was number one by a wide margin. Following finance, personnel policies, student testing and school program definition were ranked very much alike. At the third level of state action were school governance and curriculum materials policies. Respondents reported substantially lower levels of state interest and action in the area of building and facilities policy.

By and large, state policy makers feel that significantly greater state level attention needs to be given to all seven policy domains. Personnel training and certification headed the list of mechanisms which were thought to need more attention -- more than a third of all respondents urged greater attention in this area. Interest in expanding state involvement in education policy varies from state to state, but with only two exceptions respondents felt that greater attention was needed to all policy domains in each state. The exceptions were student assessment policy in Arizona where about 40% of the respondents thought this issue was getting too much attention, and school finance in California where about 10% of those interviewed favored giving less attention to this mechanism.

The policy makers interviewed felt most knowledgeable about school finance policy matters (about 80% felt comfortable with finance questions). They were least comfortable with building and curriculum materials policies (less than 20% claimed knowledge of these policy domains).

Alternative Approaches within each Policy Domain

In addition to reviewing the seven policy mechanisms described above, respondents were asked to indicate which of several alternative approaches within each domain were receiving the most attention. The alternative approaches which they were asked to characterize were identified during first round interviews with policymakers in each state. The number of alternatives presented for comment varied, ranging from as few as three (in the curriculum materials domain) to as many as eight (in the organization and governance arena). Most policy mechanisms were found to involve either four or five different approaches.

Typically, respondents did not discuss competing approaches to each of the seven basic policy domains. Rather, respondents were asked to report first on the three mechanisms with which they were most familiar. Then, if interview time permitted, less familiar domains were covered. As a result, only 38 respondents evaluated school building and facilities options while 118 discussed alternative finance approaches.

As with the basic mechanisms, we found broad agreement about the relative importance of various approaches in most domains and significant differences in approach priority among the six sample states. Shared variance on the competing policy approaches ranged from a high of 40% on the various approaches to student assessment to a statistically insignificant low of only 2% in the area of organization and governance. Equalization and establishment of overall funding levels dominated school finance policy concerns. Pre-service certification and training was viewed as the most important personnel policy approach. Testing policy is dominated by state concern about specifying the format and content of tests. Program policy is pre-eminently concerned with setting higher standards while curriculum materials policy concern is focused on the scope and sequence of instruction. Building policy is dominated by remediation of identified architectural problems.

Despite the broad consensus, interstate differences in approach were also found to quite strong in all policy domains except curriculum materials. Especially strong interstate differences were found in the domains of school governance, finance and student testing. Each of these policy mechanisms produced three strong, statistically independent, and substantively meaningful multiple discriminant functions which distinguish among alternative state approaches.

The most powerful differences among the states in the school finance area involve a tension between fiscal equalization and determining the total amount of money to be made available to the schools. Equalization was the dominant concern in West Virginia which is now under court order to equalize school facilities, but it was far behind concern the aggregate level of funding in California (California had just been released by the trial court from the Serrano judgment by a declaration that effective equalization had been achieved).

Redefinition of teacher work roles produced the most divergent ratings in the personnel policy area. California and Arizona identified this approach as receiving a lot more attention than did respondents in the other states (especially in West Virginia where this approach was ranked last among the four alternatives discussed).

Enhancing the authority of local districts and strengthening the hand of teacher organizations were given the most divergent scores in the organization and governance area. Illinois gave a very high rating to the teacher organization approach, reflecting their recent victory in securing collective bargaining legislation. Wisconsin joined Illinois in reporting strong support for enhancing the influence of local districts.

The Legal Structure of Policy Values . . . . . . (see Chapter V)

Comprehensive content analysis of state codes is not often used to examine the character of state action in a particular policy area. We carefully reviewed the education codes in two of our states, however, in order to test the utility of this approach to examining the embodiment of public values in specific education policies.

Analysis of education codes in Illinois and Wisconsin proceeded by tallying all items within the published code. An "item," the object of the tallying, was defined as any unit of the code (sentence, paragraph, group of paragraphs or numbered section) that expressed a state action regarding one of the seven basic state policy mechanisms described above. Each code section was read and cross-classified on the basis of the specific policy embodied within it and on the basis of whether it gave expression to one or more of four fundamental public values: choice, quality, efficiency and equity.

The states studied differed substantially in their expressed preference for the various policy values. In Illinois, efficiency dominates the code, with the other three values about equally distributed. This dominance clearly rests on the prevalence of state accountability provisions designed to control the use of political power throughout the school system. In Illinois, power granted means power checked.

Political history helps account for this distribution. Illinois has a deeply individualistic political culture, an environment which encourages fragmentation of power, regional conflict, and political corruption. The traditionalistic cultural elements in the southern part of the state have influenced state action to some degree, however, encouraging careful scrutiny of all resource and power distribution policies.

Wisconsin, by contrast, has a moralistic political culture and a very different pattern of values expressed in its education code provisions. While efficiency leads other values, its proportion in the Wisconsin code is considerably less than in Illinois. Much more expression is given to equity and somewhat more to choice in this state.

We can infer that efficiency and equity are responses to rather different influences in Wisconsin's history. Efficiency reflects more the need to insure that policies are administered in an accountable fashion than that political interests are kept in check. And Equity responds to a special theme in Wisconsin's political culture -- the use of political power to improve all citizen's lives by redistributing wealth and opening up opportunities for all. This state's "squeaky clean" reputation, often cited in other research, was evident in our field interviews as well as in the larger role played by equity and choice values in its statutes.

Political Culture and Policy Values . . . . . . (see Chapter VI)

Daniel Elazar has identified three broad political culture orientations within the United States. Rooted in the colonial period of nation building, and extended by patterns of migration and immigration, Elazar found distinctive patterns of belief about government which he labeled: Moralist, Individualist and Traditionalist. He defined political culture as simply, "the particular pattern of orientation to political action in which each political system is embedded (Elazar, 1984, p. 109). The operational elements embedded in this concept include: 1) perceptions about what politics is and what can be expected from government, 2) notions about the kinds of people who become active in the political process and become governmental officials, and 3) beliefs about how the art of government is actually practiced. Based on his pioneering work, we developed a survey instrument aimed at probing culture variations in the six sample states under study and examined whether culture differences measured in this way would predict orientation toward educational policy mechanisms and approaches.

Multiple discriminant analysis of the data collected using the political culture survey instrument identified a very powerful set of differences among the six sample states. Moralistic culture orientations dominated the discriminant analysis, but a less distinctive Traditionalistic culture function was also helpful in distinguishing among the six states. As predicted by Elazar's early work, Wisconsin was identified as the most Moralistic state in the sample. California had the second highest score on the Moralistic culture function, reflecting its more heterogeneous population and diverse political traditions. Arizona and West Virginia displayed the strongest Traditionalistic culture orientations, as predicted by Elazar. And, as expected, Pennsylvania topped the Individualistic culture scale. Illinois rejected the Moralistic view while embracing both Individualistic and Traditionalistic norms, again reflecting Elazar's data on the differences between migration into the northern and southern parts of the state.

Differences in the culture orientations across the states served as strong indicators of attention to some, but not all, policy mechanisms and approaches. Moralistic culture scores were particularly powerful predictors of differences in state level attention to curriculum, governance and testing policies. Traditionalistic culture orientations were strongly related to program definition and building policy interest. Culture was helpful in predicting eleven of the 33 identified approaches to various policy domains.

The Demographic Origins of Policy . . . . (see Chapter VII)

Policy is, of course, grounded in the overall condition of state social, political, economic and educational systems. Hence we felt it important to review the general status of these systems in each of our six sample states. The analysis of these systems was descriptive, however, rather than predictive. Our aim was to illuminate the unique character of each state studied, and to demonstrate that the six sample states were, as a group, broadly representative of the country as a whole.

Forty-four variables were examined. They were grouped into twelve clusters reflecting the performance of various state subsystems. The twelve clusters included:

1. Educational Productivity

Among the sample states, West Virginia was below the national average on all four of the measures used (standardized test scores, percent of students taking the test, rate of graduation from high school, and rate of pupil attendance). Illinois was at or above the national average on all measures. Wisconsin has the overall best productivity record, low only on the percentage of students taking the standardized college admission tests.

2. Human Resource Inputs to Education

California has the highest teacher salaries, but has paid for those salaries by allowing pupil/teacher ratios to slip to 23.3:1, just above last place Utah. Illinois also has teacher salaries well above the national average, but has kept pupil/

teacher ratios much closer to the national average of 17.7:1. Rural West Virginia has very low teacher salaries, but also has the lowest pupil/teacher staffing ratio in the sample.

3. Fiscal Resource Inputs

Pennsylvania makes the greatest per pupil investment in education and also takes the largest percentage of personal income for education.

4. Indicators of Children's Educational Need

Arizona has more than average need in the areas of poverty, minority enrollment and number of children with limited English language skill. Illinois reports the highest number of handicapped children. Wisconsin is below national averages on all indicators of child need.

5. Community Indicators of Educational Need

West Virginia has the lowest level of adult achievement; California the largest number on non-whites in the adult population. Wisconsin has below national rates of educational need on all four measures used.

6. State Fiscal Capacity

California is the richest state in the sample, with the best budget surplus in 1984 and the best yield from a representative tax system. West Virginia is the poorest state, but Wisconsin had the greatest problem with debt at the end of FY '84.

7. School Program Definition

Arizona had the shortest school year of the sample states, well below the national average of 178.4 days. Nevertheless, this state had higher than average graduation unit requirements and was among the minority of states requiring a test for graduation from high school. The decentralized governance system in Illinois has led to a short school year, a low number of units for graduation, and no school leaving test.

8. Social Demography of the States

California, Arizona and Illinois are among the nations highly urbanized states. West Virginia, with just 36.2% of its population in urban centers, ranks just above last place Vermont. Arizona is expecting a very rapid 46.5% growth in its population between 1980 and 1990.

9. School Demography

Illinois and Pennsylvania are notable for the degree of racial isolation in their schools. As the nation's most urbanized state, California also transports the smallest percentage of students.

10. Political Power Context for Policy Development

Pennsylvania is notable as the state granting the broadest array of powers to its governor. West Virginia has the strongest interest groups, Wisconsin the weakest. Arizona has the lowest level of political party competition in the sample.

11. Levels of Political Activity

Arizona is notably low in its rate of voter registration (57.3% compared with the national average of 73.5%). Generally speaking, voter turnout rates follow registration rates. In 1980, Wisconsin, with no statewide registration requirement, had the third highest turnout in the nation (67.2%). Arizona was fifth from the bottom with 44.7%. Following publication of the

Nation at Risk report, California was the most active in adopting new policies, while Pennsylvania made the fewest changes of any state in our sample.

12. The Economic Context of Policy Formation

California and Illinois have relatively low state tax rates. California, however, combines its low rate with a relatively high degree of progressivity. Illinois and West Virginia have relatively regressive tax systems, while Wisconsin's is the third most progressive one in the nation. Even with its low rate, California manages above average expenditure per capita. Education's share of the California tax pie is quite low, however.

Taken together, the 44 variables reviewed show that the six states in our sample are representative of the full range and mixture of social, economic and political conditions across the nation.

Value Preferences in State Policy . . . . . (see Chapter VIII)

Among the brief written questionnaires given to all respondents was one designed to assess their preferences regarding four competing public values. The four values presented in the instrument included: 1) choice or liberty, arguably the most basic of all American public values, 2) quality, the value used to defend governmental action in any domain, 3) efficiency, the value underlying debates over economic worth and performance accountability, and 4) equity, a "self-evident" value articulated in the Declaration of Independence.

Analysis of the value preference data indicates that, for the mid-1980s at least, educational quality considerations substantially outweigh all other values. Among the policy makers we interviewed, the issue of choice in education policy comes far behind that of the other values. Efficiency and equity were given nearly identical weight, about half way between the enthusiasm for quality education and the lackluster showing of public choice.

We found significant interstate differences in the value preferences of key policy actors. All six states gave quality first place by a substantial margin, but Illinois and California policymakers were especially committed to this value. Equity had the greatest range in values -- scoring highest in West Virginia (with its recent equity court order) and lowest in Arizona. Efficiency made its best showing in Arizona, and was most energetically rejected by Californians. Though it was last in every state, choice was given its strongest support in California and Arizona.

Political Influence in the States . . . . (see Chapter IX)

Since policy emerges through the efforts of various actors to incorporate specific values into authoritative state action, policymaking is better understood if the distribution of power and influence within each state policy system is closely examined. Influence distribution is complex, of course. Some individuals and groups strongly influence a few decisions. Others have less influence on any particular decision, but are routinely involved across a broad range of issues. Nevertheless, the distribution of influence within each state is a matter of intense interest for all key policymakers. Nearly everyone interviewed for this study was able to comfortably discuss the relative influence of a wide range of key actors. Hence it was relatively easy to take a straightforward approach to assessing policy influence distribution by simply asking respondents to rate various actor groups within their respective states.

Each respondent was asked to report the relative influence of some seventeen different elements in the state policy system on a one to seven scale. There were sharp differences in the overall rating given to the various groups, confirming the common sense perception that policymakers have little difficulty assessing the relative influence of other actors.

By grouping actor groups with similar overall mean influence ratings together, we were able to identify six meaningful clusters of actors. The members of each cluster have comparable levels of overall involvement in education policy development. While influence patterns varied from state to state, the following overall pattern was apparent:

Group 1: The Core Actors

State legislators, individually and taken as an organizational unit, were recognized as the ultimate insiders in education policy. With a mean rank of 5.82 on the seven point scale used to rate all groups, individual members of the legislature were reported to have the strongest voice in policymaking. The legislature as a whole was also very important, frequently called a "super school board" by respondents who felt it was more influential than appropriate.

Group 2: The Inner Circle

Three actor groups constitute a powerful "inner circle" that regularly interacts with the legislature. With mean ratings that average about a half point below those for the legislative actors, these groups generate most of the substantive proposals presented for legislative action. This group consists of the chief state school officers, the major teacher organizations, and a coalition of "all education interest groups combined." Not all states give each actor group the same rating, of course. Illinois ranked the teacher group above all other groups, while Arizona placed the teachers 11th, well below the mid-point on the influence scale.

Group 3: The Outer Circle

The next three policy groups make up an "outer circle" that has frequent but typically somewhat less powerful access to the policy system. The governors and their education advisors are the most influential members of this outer circle. Of course, governors are not in the outer circle for lack of resources to influence policy. It is just that they frequently ignore education questions and leave the field to others.

Also found in the outer circle are legislative staff members and state boards of education. The relative distance of the state boards from the center of policy was not news, it confirms what others have long recognized -- full-time, politically savvy bureaucrats and elected public officials can more readily influence basic education policy decisions than the occasional and politically disinterested members of a lay school board.

Group 4: The Sometime Players

Separated from the outer circle by a statistically significant gap in their overall influence level are five policy actor groups we called the "sometime players." These groups were quite effective on some issues and in some states, but were noticeably weak in others. State associations of local school boards were the most frequently noticed of these actors. They ranked ninth in overall influence -- putting them in the middle of the 17 groups ranked. Associations of school administrators came next with an overall rating of 3.97 on the seven point scale. This group was noticeably strong in California and Pennsylvania, but even at their strongest administrators were rated as less powerful than teacher organizations. The courts and federal policy mandates were ranked eleventh and twelfth, respectively. Finally, non-educator groups (taxpayer associations, business roundtables, etc.) round out the cast of sometime players.

Group 5: The Often Forgotten

Often forgotten in the press of time and political conflict are lay groups (PTAs, advisory councils, etc.) and research organizations (universities, regional laboratories, etc.).

Group 6: Unseen Others

The last two sources of educational policy influence are popular referenda and the activities of educational product manufacturers (e.g. textbook publishers). While these are generally not recognized as critical elements in the overall process of policy formation, Californians gave referenda moderately high marks and Arizona respondents reported substantial influence from educational product producers.

Policymakers' Assumptive Worlds . . . . (see Chapter X)

While state political cultures were successfully measured using the concepts developed by Elazar, a richer understanding of the relationship between culture and policymaking can be garnered from close study of data collected in the course of interviewing policymakers. In describing the policy system within which they operate, policymakers provide clues to the common understandings and accepted rituals which they encounter in the system and which they rely on for judging the feasibility of various policy proposals and options. These cultural elements produce perceptual screens which were described by Young (1977) as policymakers' "assumptive worlds." Young argued that these assumptive worlds provide policymakers with "subjective understandings of the environment in which they operate," incorporating "several intermingled elements of belief, perception, evaluation, and intention as responses to the reality 'out there.'"

The interview data collected during this study revealed definite rules for the exercise of influence within each policy system -- rules that define the rights and responsibilities of various policy groups. Various key actors' stories demonstrated that specific activities enable particular groups to gain (or lose) power. They also revealed the existence of state-specific understandings about cultural constraints on policy behavior and choice. Each state, in short, has a distinctive set of assumptive worlds. Actors share more or less common language systems for describing the process, constraints, and rituals that must be observed in policymaking. This common language reflects a taken-for-granted framework within which policy actions occur.

Four dimensions of the assumptive worlds of policymakers in West Virginia and Pennsylvania were examined in detail. These four dimensions include: 1) determination of who has the right or responsibility of initiating policy action, 2) specification of what policy ideas are acceptable or unacceptable, 3) identification of appropriate means for mobilizing action within the policy system, and 4) highlighting of special conditions within the state that must be accommodated in any policy action.

Determination of rights and responsibilities for policy initiation is an essential ingredient in framing the distribution of political power within each policy system. Interview language became especially vivid when policymakers sought to describe events which reveal that some individual or group has overstepped its proper role. Despite his reliance on extensive research data, for example, a Chief State School Officer in Pennsylvania lost influence because he misjudged the determination of key legislators to control their right to initiate policy change.

The boundary between acceptable and unacceptable policy options is crossed when policymakers ignore common wisdom about powerful interest groups or entrenched traditional values. Acceptable methods for exercising influence within the policy process can be expressed as a series of aphorisms about the exercise of power, such as:

Know your place
Cooperate with those in power
Touch all the bases
Something for everyone
Bet on a winner
Don't trade too much on social relationships
Staffers have limited roles
Know the influence network
Use interstate comparisons to justify action
Limit experimentation with untested policies

Policy makers also hold strong views about the special economic, social and political conditions operative within their states that are believed to limit policy options.

In the final analysis, the data indicate, the assumptive worlds with which policymakers approach their work make two basic contributions to the process of incorporating values into education policy. First, these cognitive and emotional assumptions have the effect of creating and maintaining a stable and predictable decisionmaking environment. Second, they build cohesion among decisionmakers, facilitate coalition formation, and therefore help channel power and influence toward specific issues and decision options.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH

Strengthening State Policymaking

Among the many ways in which findings from this study could be utilized to guide state level policymaking, seven are worthy of special note here. First, this research has demonstrated that: there is an underlying taxonomic structure to state level education policy. Despite the vicissitudes of political interest and pressure for school reform, policy in all states relies on the same fundamental mechanisms of control -- finance, personnel, student assessment, program definition, governance, curriculum materials development and regulation of school facilities construction. While there is still much to be learned about how each of these mechanisms actually impacts on school performance, the framework developed here does provide a starting point for systematic review of policy actions and proposals. By getting a clear idea of the repertoire of policy mechanisms at their disposal, policymakers can resist the tendency to rely on narrow, single mechanism strategies to handle all school improvement problems. Awareness of the complex, multi-faceted structure of education policy may also assist policymakers in resisting the "band-wagon" approach that so often characterizes school improvement efforts. When confronted with political pressures for reform it is appropriate for decisionmakers to survey the full range of control mechanisms available to them and to select the one or ones best suited to ameliorating particular problems.

Second, this research demonstrates that: the most serious policy debates are likely to arise when basic public value commitments intersect with the control mechanisms to create alternative approaches to policy. Conflict and disagreement do not arise simply from the availability of alternative control mechanisms -- tension arises when key actors with divergent value preferences adopt incompatible or competing approaches within various domains. While public value commitments certainly contribute to the preference for reliance on one or another mechanism, tensions lead primarily to competition for scarce time and resources rather than direct conflict over policy direction.

As with the policy mechanisms, however, we noted the existence of a rather limited set of alternative policy approaches within each of the seven broad domains of control. Development of support for the various competing approaches, while influenced by value commitments, is a very complex matter. Differing value commitments generally do not lead to direct competition for control over particular approaches, rather they produce divergent thinking about which approaches are likely to be most appropriate. The result is a complex system of coalitions and cleavages within the policy system. Managing coalition formation is, of course, one of the critical talents of successful policy leadership. The research work presented here provides an opportunities for policymakers to interpret their own interests and respond to those of others in more productive ways.

Third, the data gathered for this study reveals that: there is a broad national consensus on the most important mechanisms of policy control and on the most appropriate approaches to be taken within each control domain. This broad consensus is far from universally supported, of course, leaving ample room for debate and disagreement. Nevertheless, it is possible for state policy makers to measure their own proposals for policy change against this national consensus in order to get a pretty good idea of how much support or resistance they are likely to encounter.

Fourth, as the study of state political cultures demonstrated: longstanding cultural values and norms play a significant role in shaping each state's overall policy framework. As a result, policies which are identical in form will have very different meanings in states with differing political cultures. The differences between Moralistic, Individualistic and Traditionalistic political cultures are not merely interesting historical artifacts, they structure social norms about the processes of policy formation and create strong pressure for the support of some options and resistance to others.

Fifth, while personal background and experience appears to have only a very modest impact on policymakers' orientations and preferences, the public value preferences held by key actors within the policy system significantly shape their perception of policy approach. The real impact of these value preferences does not arise primarily from individual differences, however. The strongest effect of public value preferences among key actors is found when they are aggregated across a state or a policy making coalition. Individual policy actors are not likely to have a major impact on policy by stressing the differences between their own values and those of other actors with whom they must work to produce decisions. Rather, the evidence in this study suggest that effective value pursuit involves getting others to join in the value consensus -- that is by persuading them of the appropriateness of your values -- not by confronting them with the intensity of your commitments.

Sixth, while influence patterns vary considerably from one state to the next, state legislators are the core actors in education policy formation on most issues and in most states. For the present at least, state policy systems are definitely not inclined to leave education policy formation to professional educators -- not to the state departments of education, professional associations, or local school districts. There are exceptions to this generalization -- teacher organizations in Illinois and the chief state school officer in Wisconsin, for example -- but it is safe in most places to assume that educational policy change means legislative action.

Seventh, while policy systems differ, every state policy system prescribes normative rules for interaction among policymakers -- violation of these rules sharply limits one's capacity to influence decisions. These rules are embedded in the "assumptive worlds" with which policy makers routinely orient themselves to the policy system. They specify who has the right to initiate policy actions and they limit the range of acceptable proposals. Self-conscious knowledge of these rules would enables individuals to position themselves for the greatest impact on decisions in which they have an interest and minimizes the likelihood that they will be disabled by an inadvertent violation of established norms.

Eighth and finally, statutory law does not give equal expression to all competing public values. In part this imbalance is the result of differences in emphasis over time and in different policy systems. In part, however, it is also the result of the fact that statutory law is not equally well suited to the expression of all four of the basic public values. Law is best suited to the regulatory and accountability dimensions of the public interest in efficiency. Legal language is not inimical to the pursuit of quality, but it is also true that many dimensions of quality education cannot be easily formulated as legal requirements. Formulating effective policies to assure quality educational services requires careful thought and great diligence. It is easy to legislate accountability if policy makers can specify precisely what behavior is required, but when it comes to requiring the production of specific outcomes, the law becomes an imperfect instrument at best. The equity value which has received so much attention in the last quarter of a century of education policy development is even more difficult to embed in legal language.

Equity, from a legal standpoint, is an issue of redress, not one of address. That is, equity laws can only be written to cover situations where inequities have already been identified. As a result, truly equitable policy systems would probably have very little equity language embedded within their legal codes.

As a public value, choice is even harder to embed in legal codes. Choice, at least in the American system of law, is a residual category -- it is what citizens have if no law is written at all. Hence choice comes to be embedded in statutes only when laws are returning limited freedom in situations where, for other reasons, policies have already intruded upon basic liberties.

In sum, the tendency of education policymakers to see the legislature, and hence the statutes, as the center of the decisionmaking process has a natural tendency to bias policy debates toward efficiency and quality, the values best suited to statutory language development.

Future Directions in State Policy Research

As outlined in this summary and elaborated in the body of our Final Report, this research project has made a number of specific and detailed contributions to the growing body of knowledge about state level education policy and politics. We conclude this summary by highlighting five of its most important contributions -- ones which can be expected to guide future research and analysis.

1. The taxonomy of mechanisms and approaches developed in the course of this research project makes it possible to approach the definition of state policy research variables in a new way.

Until now, state level education policy research has lacked a clear framework for defining its central variables. Most research defines its central variables in terms of controversial political "issues" or formally defined governmental "programs." The use of issues to define policy variables subordinates research to the political process which it is trying to explain. That is, analysis cannot begin until some set of political interests have become clearly enough focused and effectively enough mobilized to create an "issue" and propose one or more actions to deal with it. The result is an analytical separation between the origins of political action and its impact. It is possible to study the origins of various issues (by looking at the social, economic, political or demographic forces which are mobilized to produce them). And it is possible to study the impact of issue formation and resolution (by looking at the effects of policies or programs resulting from issue formation). The two processes are necessarily disconnected, however, beacuse the definition of an issue is itself a political event which must be empirically identified. Issues are inevitably complex and the difficulty of empirically isolating them almost always obscures the relationship between originating forces and ultimate consequences.

The use of formal governmental programs to define policy variables does not pose the same problems of disconnection between origin and impact, but it does create other problems for research design. Programs are inevitably complex in character, affecting a complex array of variables and resulting from a compromise and accommodation among a variety of policy interests. As a result, it is frequently difficult to clearly specify what the defining features of a program may actually be. Indeed, governmental programs are often seen as notoriously different events by different audiences and interest groups. Hence it is extremely difficult to cumulate research insights across various program focused studies. In fact, research findings from various program focused studies are frequently turned into policy proposals or new governmental programs that incorporate the language of the findings in ways that are almost totally unrelated to their substantive meaning in the context of the original research (note, for example, the peculiar attraction of state decisionmakers to extending school calendars on the strength of "time on task" findings drawn from classroom observation).

The taxonomic approach developed in this research, if it proves robust and can be more fully detailed in future research, will resolve both the longitudinal development problems of issue based analysis and the cumulative knowledge problems associated with studies of governmental programs. The taxonomy proposed in this study is probably not complete, and it certainly lacks the detail needed for comprehensive research. But it does promise to provide solid structural underpinnings to the crucial process of defining state policy variables.

2. The demonstration in this research that political cultures can be measured in ways that can be subjected to statistical analysis provides a basis for significant new work on this important dimension of policy formation and impact.

Most previous measures of political culture orientation have utilized content analytic techniques that are extremely costly and of limited use in statistical studies of the relationship between political culture and policy actions. More work needs to be done on the culture measurement instrument developed for this research project. Some items did not produce the expected results, and there is a bias toward the Individualistic culture pattern built into some responses. Nevertheless, the instrument provides an extraordinarily interesting starting point for the development of a statistically reliable measurement instrument.

3. The conception of state statutes as the record of ongoing public value choices by state policy systems provides an important starting point for future research on foundations of education policy.

The statutory record of state policy decisions is rarely seen in its totality. Sections are frequently reviewed and compared, but little work has been done on trying to develop a comprehensive picture of basic policy options through statutory analysis. The recognition in this study of inter-state differences in overall statutory framework, and insights which analysis of education codes in Illinois and Wisconsin have provided into the ways in which policy values are embedded in law should provide a point of departure for some very interesting and important future work.

4. Elaboration of the essential elements of policymakers "assumptive worlds" which was begun in this project deserves sustained interest.

Our work has provided intriguing insight into the taken-for-granted worlds within which policymakers operate. We have only scratched the surface of this line of research, however. The obvious rules of action found in our data need to be elaborated and tested in a much wider context. And a theoretical framework which explains why such rules come into existence and what functional value they have under differing circumstances needs to be developed.

5. Above all, the focus of this research on the role of values in the formation of education policy offers a much needed basis for future work.

Eventually, of course, policy researchers need to clearly and convincingly distinguish the role of economics forces, political interests, structural arrangements, and a host of other factors at work in the formation and implementation of education policy. At the present time, however, we feel that value preferences and commitments which are the obvious "stuff" of day-to-day interaction in the political arena have been too little studied and too poorly conceptualized. If there is any one message we feel this project should give to the research community it is this: values and value commitments are at the heart of educational policy formation and implementation -- these values can and should be measured in order to understand how the policy system works, how actions in the policy system are linked (or not linked) to school programs and practices, and why actions that often seem clear and decisive to policymakers are distorted or ignored by those toward whom they are directed.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY OF STATE EDUCATION POLICY SYSTEMS

State efforts to control the public schools rely on a wide variety of political, economic, and social mechanisms. Change efforts are evident in ideology, finance arrangements, litigation and legislation, and professional practices. Some changes, such as judicial intervention and federal involvement, push education policy initiative away from state decision makers (Wirt and Kirst, 1982). Others create a new power balance within the states themselves: reapportionment elevated urban-suburban interests over rural; weakening of party discipline in many states encouraged reform oriented change; development of new legislative and educational management capacities in state capitols, gave rise to the belief that change could be precisely targeted (Sharkansky, 1972; Murphy, 1982). These changes pushed state educational policymakers to take more of a hand in school systems and resulted in broad new state mandates for local education authorities.

To sort out this increasingly turbulent environment of state education policymaking, we will set a background picture of similar and unlike features of the contemporary culture, and then set out the matrix of values within which state policymaking occurs. These general observations will serve to introduce this project's methodology and research design in Chapter II and will emerge repeatedly in succeeding analytical chapters.

Similarities and Contrasts in the American Culture

An historical impulse of political authorities and leaders of other institutions has been to resolve differences among a people of great diversity. Differences in social life are often distrusted, an emotion which can divide social institutions and a national culture. This conflict-resolution impulse by leaders has often resulted in agreements that, over time, led to common beliefs and practices; The impulse sometimes fails, occasionally on a disastrous level -- like the Civil War. What, then, is the larger context of cultural division and unity in which our study is set and in which government must operate? We can see both common and differing aspects at any one time, altering the old motto to read, "From many, both one and many." Our research is a study in both the unifying and the differentiating elements of state education policy.

Common Elements

Values. The value context of our society has common elements. Although Americans lack an ideology, that is, an integrated belief system which explains normatively past and present events, observers have long noted the presence of certain common, if not always consistent, social values. Individualism, materialism, and pragmatism are often cited in this respect, while others would point to the cooperative, life-affirming values of humanitarianism and liberalism, progressivism and optimism. Obviously these contradict, but just as obviously Americans have lived with them, altering William James' aphorism to read, "Most people live lives of quiet contradictions." We will return shortly to these values.

Institutions. We share also a set of common institutions. Historical experience and contemporary polls show that we think very highly of these, although we suspect persons in positions of authority within them, particularly political officials. We have inherited and now sustain Constitutions at national and state levels that constrains abuse of governmental power and guarantee civil rights and freedoms. There is widespread acceptance of common principles, such as separation of powers, two-party competition, and due process of law. Other widely-shared political practices include: belief in one's political party; a system for policymaking widely shared by many groups; and a passion for using all levels and branches of government -- including the courts -- to raise and settle political issues.

Certainly we share a general belief in an economic institution, although, like the political system, it takes different shapes and practices through time. We have never had a "free" economy; in its heyday a century ago, government was not neutral but was used to regulate negative externalities of doing business while subsidizing the positive externalities. Today, close observers would term ours a "mixed" economy, which still means government regulation and subsidy. But the central values of encouraging citizens to purse economic self-interest through the interplay of supply and demand, and of maximizing wages and profits, still motivates much of the economy, despite constrictions imposed both by the economy and by government. The final common elements of this economy are its interdependence nationally, its vulnerability internationally, and its impact on all governments.

Vulnerability to Change: One common element of such institutions is not simply their stability but their vulnerability to change in the face of national currents which sweep through them, instigated by new ideas or grave crises. Some changes are merely fads, like the current spate of corporate takeovers; in the longer view, such passions are temporary because they have come and gone before. But other changes last longer, generated by either a new idea or a traumatic event. These two interact, of course, as witness the Great Depression causing popular beliefs to accept a more positive role for the national government in managing the economy and providing for the public welfare. Ideas matter, and they generate institutional change. Keynes noted decades ago that the accepted ideas of hard-headed businessmen were actually the seminal ideas of "scribblers" of an earlier period. Events also matter, like boom and bust in the economy or world wars. These traumas change the way that institutions operate and that persons with authority think about their roles.

Differentiating Elements

Americans clearly and regularly disagree over what values should prevail and how institutions should operate. Certain forces in our society account for, indeed encourage, such disagreement. Institutional leaders know, however, that they live in a world of conflict generating difference. Hence, they learn how to survive and thrive amid that context. Education plays some part in muting, without abolishing, differences of ethnicity, religion, race, and status.

Another source of our national differentiation lies in resources. David Potter pointed out in his classic People of Plenty, (1954) that the mere presence of rich resources in this nation helped mightily to shape Americans' attitudes about self, institution, and culture. Others pointed out how differences in resource distribution have generated differences in policy services to cope with the social and economic issues of life at any era. Much social research of two decades ago sought to show that resource differences, not political differences, underlay variation in policy services of state governments (Dye, 1966). Clearly there are major regional and state differences in physical and economic resources which account for how people feel about and act toward their institutions (Pierce and Hagstrom, 1983).

A further source of difference lies in the mixes of demography. The people themselves generate different demands upon institutions, including demands upon institutions for policy services. Moreover, changes in demography can change these demands, as populations move restlessly or new populations arrive from outside our borders. The classic examples are the urban political machine and mass production. They became possible only when arriving masses of immigrants 140 years ago and later generated new needs and demands, while contributing new resources into the political and economic systems.

Relevance to This Study. These differences and their underlying causes will be seen in the states of this study. For example, a rebounding economy in California in the mid-1980's makes possible a school system better financed to respond to new demands for quality in school performance; but a still sluggish economy in Illinois makes such a response much reduced. Or, population gains in Arizona and losses in West Virginia create new strains upon the school services; the issue in the first is school growth but in the second school consolidation. Yet all these differences must filter through state policymaking systems, and it is here that we find another differentiation in the national culture.

Overlaying the common constitutional structure of the states have been the effects of differing historical experiences, population mixes, and leadership. The result has been that the political system, its leaders, and its policymaking generate different political judgments across the nation. Each of these differing judgments constitutes a perspective on what government and politics, leaders and policies, should be like. These "political cultures" will be explored more fully in chapter 6, as will their impact upon our states' educational policies. A major advantage of a cultural perspective is that it permits a more patterned view of what seems at first glance fifty states doing fifty different things. Rather, this perspective permits us to justify theoretically, and hence to, explain, these limited patterns of political and policy behavior. Such an approach helps us explain, for example, why there has been greater state control over local districts in West Virginia than in Wisconsin, or how use of the appointment versus the elected method of selecting the chief state school officer affects the potential for educational leadership.

The American and the Educational Cultures

These general cultural considerations, and their similar and differing features, have application to public schooling. That is, this larger culture helps shape how educational resources are employed, what educational goals are pursued, and what the politics of education in the American states is like. Let us review again the role of values, institutions, and vulnerability to change as they apply to public schooling.

Values

A common value, so pervasive as to be almost unnoticed, is what could be termed the "child benefit" value. That is, education is such a good thing that one's children should have as much of it as private and public resources can afford. That value has underlain the "free public schools" concept that has educated far more of our children, in absolute or proportional numbers, than found in any other nation. Pursuit of the child-benefit value for almost 150 years has engaged family and government resources in ever-increasing amounts; school expenditures are the largest for any service in every one of the fifty states, far out ranking social welfare costs. This value has been so strong that it could survive a potentially divisive split over a century ago between Protestants and Roman Catholics about schooling; both sides agreed that separate institutions would be acceptable.

But as with all common values, there arise differences in values over the regular questions of all policymaking. How much schooling should be provided, who should pay for it and how, what should be taught, and who should evaluate the service (Wirt, 1982). For example, many states agree on the value of teaching American civics. But what should we teach is the pupil's duty as a citizen: to accept uncritically what government does or the duty to question government's use of power (Litt, 1965; Morgan, 1977)? Similarly, the current conflict over teaching evolution versus creationism is manifestly rooted in value differences. So, given a diverse citizenry, who view schooling from different normative perspectives, the value conflict arises episodically in public schools.

But other roots for differences exist in the different distributions of resources and the value differences these generate. A local school public may agree fully over the desirability of a particular school program, but lack the financial resources to provide it or the expertise professionally to carry it out. The unequal distribution of resources like money and knowledge means that pursuit of the child-benefit value necessarily produces wide differences in what is regarded as desirable policy and thus in the quality of schooling. A generation now of judicial and legislative attack on such differences has demonstrated empirically the gap between desires and results that stem from the resource problem.

Institutions

We have inherited a set of common institutions, but history has given them distinctive shapes from place to place. That applies also to education system and policy.

Political Institutions

The U.S. Constitution's concern for the abuse of political power is writ large in its many limitations upon authority; in effect, our founders wrote a document incorporating the secular version of original sin. For example, while "federalism" was not mentioned in it, the tenth Amendment's division of powers between central and state governments laid the basis for the complex intergovernmental relations of today. One part of that division has been the state's reserved power to control education, when that state policy arose a half-century after the Constitution was written. The result has been the familiar aphorism: education is a state function administered locally. Recently, however, there has emerged more control and administration at the state level.

Nevertheless interstate practices show different patterns in how this institutional arrangement works. Some states have much more to say in detail about the funding and administration of local schools than do other states; analysis of laws on this phenomenon in the early 1970's shows major regional differences in this basic constitutional matter (Wirt and Kirst, 1982,) History has accounted for such differences. New England, rooted in fears of centralized government under the Crown, even today keeps authority over schools more decentralized. The Confederate states, whose local resources were destroyed in the Civil War so that communities needed to rely upon their states, even today has more centralized state control of schools. So one expects to find among the states different practices over the state's role, even though all states place constitutional supremacy over the schooling fully in their hands.

Economic Institutions

The economic institution also reveals similar and unlike aspects as applied to education. While there is a national economy of great interdependence, there are also regional and even state economies, which vary enormously in their wealth. Of the states in our sample, West Virginia is among the poorest, ranking about 45 out of 50 on most measures of school services because of its weak economy. On the other hand, California's wealth, were it a nation, would make it richer than all but the U.S. and six others; it has been spurred to greater growth by successive spurts from the gold to the silicon era (Peirce and Hagstrom, 1983, p. 747). Such contrasts mean that at any stage of economic boom or bust, the fifty states will differ dramatically in their capacities to produce public funds for education, with consequences for differential qualities of educational services. For example, between 1900 and 1966, the 48 states' rankings of the proportion of state funds given for local school costs had altered remarkably little (rho=.60). The period 1963-1973 were filled with dramatic events in school funding and programs; nevertheless, the 50 states' rankings of average instructional salaries (which accounts for 70-80 percent of school budgets) changed hardly at all (rho=.90) (Wirt, 1976, pp. 326-27).

Furthermore, states of equivalent wealth or economic development can generate different educational demands because of differences in their population mix. California has an emerging schooling issue in its recent flood of relatively poor, non-English speaking minorities; in 1980 about one in four Californians were minority group members (150% of the national average), and the rate of increase in this change in the 1970's was 250% of the national rate. On the other hand, Wisconsin has a much smaller concentration of these minorities, even including Native Americans, which means a smaller proportion of poor. Consequently, both systems will make different demands upon schooling as a result of different populations.

There is another economic factor affecting education, that is, whether the economy is controlled by a few or shared among many interests. For example, the absolute dominance of coal mining in West Virginia, preoccupied with keeping taxes down, and constraining government expenditures, is a major reason why that state's educational services rank so low. While coal is also important to its neighbor, Pennsylvania, the latter's economy is shared by steel and railroads, as well as by a huge, services-oriented economy of metropolitan Philadelphia. While once dominated by industrial interests and a corrupt Republican party, the state nevertheless provided proportionately more for education than West Virginia. Even in its industrial decline since 1970, this educational effort was still stronger; in 1978, Pennsylvania provided $2,307 per pupil vs. $1,628 in West Virginia, despite the latter's higher percentage of state contribution and tax effort for schools (Wirt, 1983, p. 318, from NCES data). This spending gap helps explain why a year later a state supreme court compelled the West Virginia legislature to improve state contributions to the state's schools.

State Vulnerabilities

The national phenomenon of regional and local vulnerability to currents of social and economic change is also illustrated in educational matters. Diane Ravitch (1984) has chronicled how public education during this century has resonated to successive waves of reform. Vocational educational, child-centered curriculum, desegregation -- these and other issues exhibit a cycle of the new idea sweeping through the many school systems to alter personnel, finance, and programs. Some changes, once implanted, cannot be removed (vocational education), other changes are challenged continuously (desegregation), and yet others lose their influence over time (child-centered schooling). This system's vulnerability to change has been used by the networking practices of school professionals to penetrate the local districts and states with their reform ideas; that process continues, from making school administrators "managers of virtue" (Tyack and Hansot, 1982) beginning a century ago, to the urging of school finance reforms in recent decades.

Such vulnerability may arise also from alterations in the national and international economies. Booms or busts obviously affect school budgets in ways that enhance or constrain educational programs. A study of nine nations of contrasting political and economic systems (including the U.S.) showed clearly how the international recession of the 1970's altered budgets, programs, and results for their education systems of existing in a "world village" (Wirt and Harman, 1986). Also, wars can cut the supply of teachers or building materials, while peacetime will increase them. The OPEC crisis commencing in 1973 inflated the proportion of school budgets for energy at a great rate. Moreover, prosperity in one region can pull teachers and administrators from a declining regional economy, as the Snowbelt to Sunbelt movement of school personnel shows.

Underlying this vulnerability is the reality of an interdependent society. States serve a significant function of responding to those realities as their resources, culture, and leadership deems appropriate. States affirm or deflect these national currents in distinctive, although patterned, ways. All states respond to them, but differing circumstances of value, will, and power cause the response to be refracted through the unique prism of each state's traditions and decision structures. Historically-given differences generate distinctive adaptation to change, rather like what one sees in a stream. Not all currents of a stream are moving at the same speed, as some rush down while other slowly eddy around, preserving much of their content. But all the water eventually moves downstream, each part at its own rate.

Background of Values in Policy Change

This larger picture of national and state cultures of values helps us focus upon the search for particular values amid much change in educational policy. Most states have changed the overall direction of their education policy over recent decades in the pursuit of a few key values. Broadly put, efficiency was the pre-eminent educational policy goal from the 1920s until the 1950s, that is, the "cult of efficiency" era (Callahan, 1962; Tyack, 1974); however, at the same time there was a search for quality that underlay a child-centered, or "progressive," curriculum (Ravitch, 1983, chapter 2). Even as efficiency was reaching its apogee, the unique American dedication to social equity continued to expand the base of the school system bringing mass education to the great majority of children. Equity emerged as the dominant issue with the Brown v. Board of Education decisions in the mid-1950s, and remained the most important problem facing education through the 1970s.

But in the wake of the Sputnik launching in 1957, the issue of quality began to develop as a major concern of state policymakers (Mitchell, 1982). During the 1960s and 1970s, declining test scores, lack of positive findings from major evaluation studies, concern over declining productivity in American industry, and criticism of the skill of entering college freshmen and army recruits -- all combined to raise new quality terms like "excellence," "achievement," and "competency" in the policy debate. Throughout these decades, though, the value of choice persisted in the form of private school options; experiments with open transfer, alternative schools and vouchers; election of boards and superintendents; referenda on bonds and levies, and direct participation of citizens in school program planning and accountability schemes.

These four values of efficiency, equity, quality, and choice are defined quite fully in later chapters (see Chapters VI and VII). A brief definition of each now will set the stage for our policy discussion, however, by showing how different directions and preferences for public resources direct policy formation and implementation.

- Efficiency: the effort by a superior agency to require a subordinate agency to follow specified and publicized procedures in order to oversee compliance with the former's goals. Efficiency may take either an economic form (cost-benefit formulas for expenditures) or an accountability form (establishing regulations to control the exercise of authority).

- Equity: the application of public resources to overcome a deficiency faced by students or school personnel who lack their own resources for such remedies.

- Quality: requirements and resources aimed at insuring that school programs attain performance standards determined to be appropriate by either the profession or the public.

- Choice: the availability of options for allocating public resources, shaping school programs, or selecting public officials that are exercised by non-professionals, such as voters, parents, or students.

Obviously, there are some tensions among these four values. Nevertheless states pursue all four simultaneously in a broad array of policy initiatives. There is great variety in what the states adopted. However, most policy initiatives of the 1970s were not comprehensive school improvement programs, but narrower and less vigorous actions (Odden and Dougherty, 1981; McLaughlin, 1981). Responses to A Nation at Risk and other challenges demonstrated an equal variety of response, but again, few programs of comprehensive change (Shinn and Van der Slik, 1985).

This is the value background within which this report proceeds. Each of the chapters examines different ways of exploring the presence of these and other values in a sample of six diverse states. We will find these values latent or manifest in: the priorities given to different state policy mechanisms; the approaches to these policy mechanisms currently under debate; the state statutes and political cultures; and the personal dimensions and assumptive worlds by which policy actors make education law. The result is a theoretical taxonomy of education policies set within the public values and personal perceptions of policy elites in these sample states.

Policymakers' Roles and Motivations

There is an important personal dimension to policymaking in the states. Because officials with different value orientations must resolve conflict to produce policy, institutions and values obtain meaning when processed by officials who can transform institutional power and resources into policy action. Accordingly, we conceptualize them as political actors who respond to their own values and to influences upon them generated by the political milieu within which they work. Chapters IX-X explore in some detail the roles and responses of individual policymakers.

At the outset of this study we expected the four competing public values to interact with interpretations of alternative state policy mechanisms (SPMs) to document and describe different priorities among the sample states. If not, we reasoned, state influences have little effect on policy choices; which must otherwise be the result of nationwide influences which are moving all states to similar actions. If there are priorities among these values and SPM choices, however, they suggest two important political influences operating within state policy systems. First, citizen groups can influence the policymaker; that is, the latter do not impose only their values upon policy. Democratic theory proposes, and historical experience confirms, a complex linkage between leader and citizen; it is not simply one leading the other, because the two are highly interactive. A second influence within state policy systems is that elected leaders like to stay elected and that preference influences their policy behavior. Congressional research stresses that of all factors possibly influencing the lawmaker's vote the most significant is his or her desire to be re-elected (Mayhew, 1974). The lawmaker may engage in "position-taking," "credit-claiming," and district "casework," but these actions and the vote-casting are keyed to a common concern to be re-elected. We are presuming that state legislators are shaped also by this central concern, especially the key leaders studied here.

These two influences upon state policy actors point to the responsive mode that they employ, and that suggests, in turn, that their decisions among values and SPMs will reflect some sense of what voters and significant groups want in their states. That responsiveness affects their policy behavior in two ways.

The Breadth Stimulus

First, if a policy problem concerns everyone to some degree, and that is known, then those in the policy system will be affected by such a breadth of public concern. This concern may lack specifics -- "Children should learn more" -- but policymakers will nevertheless hear about it from different constituencies and so will feel the pressure to "do something." This popular stimulus provides them with a quick awareness that the matter must be put on the policy agenda for some kind of action. It is after getting on the policy agenda that issue conflict emerges over timing, funding, and content of programs.

This breadth stimulus explains why school finance became so salient to so many policy actors in education. The pervasive use of the local property tax to finance schooling generated a breadth of concern about its weight as the inflation of the 1970s increased. We will see later how truly salient it is to our policy elites. A similar breadth stimulus can be seen in responses to the A Nation at Risk report. In the first two years after its issuance, only five states had done nothing, 18 states made 1-10 changes (including Pennsylvania and Wisconsin), 15 made 12-21 changes (including Illinois, West Virginia, and Arizona), eight did between 23-42, and three (including California) did 48-58 changes (Shinn and Van der Slik, 1985, p. 39). This political system variation in behavior is explainable by political actors need to respond to issues that are pressureful; democratic theory requires it, and officials desire re-election.

The Intensive Stimulus.

But not all policy comes from the breadth stimulus. Rather, policy priorities can flow from the power of special interest groups who operate in a milieu normally filled with public ignorance of, and indifference to, those interests. That is, lawmakers respond not simply to mass of numbers but also to focused articulation and mobilization -- an intensive stimulus. The rich literature of lobbying activity has caused political scientists to ascribe most, if not a majority, of lawmaking to this factor, (see any issue of Congressional Quarterly). Nevertheless, there is a surprising congruence between public opinion in general and national public policies over the last 30 years (Weissberg, 1976; Page and Shapiro, 1982, 1983). But it is also the case that narrow group opinion makes itself heard by lawmakers and that its resources bring a sensitivity to law- makers' campaigns.

This factor helps explain why laws protecting teacher interests are strong in states where their organization is larger and stronger; we will find sharp contrasts in this influence between Arizona and Illinois. Nor is it surprising, in states dominated by a few large economic interests, like West Virginia, that those interests are more clearly responded to, even at the expense of educational services.

Cultural Effects

A final and subtle influence upon policymakers' priorities among values and preferred state policy mechanisms (SPMs) lies in state or regional political culture (Elazar, 1984, chapter V). We have noted earlier that this set of expectations about how government should operate may help explain interstate differentiation in policy programs. Such expectations, socialized through institutions and experiences, shape perceptions of a problem's existence, the will to do something about it, and the knowledge of how to do it. In Wisconsin, for example, government is viewed beneficial, with the result that there are broad based positive expectations for high quality of government personnel and services and confidence in government's ability to improve life. By contrast, in Illinois, where government is viewed as injurious to the social order, there are fewer such expectations. In these contrasting milieus, the policymaker's action must be shaped by what one expects to happen when government action occurs, and that, in turn, shapes the selection of values or SPMs.

In short, state variations in value priorities and education policy preferences arise in part from political influences upon policymakers. These influences include; the motivations of lawmakers to survive; the general publics' concern to be heard; special publics' narrower concerns about group protection; and the state's political culture.

Background of Structural Uniformity and Variation

We noted earlier the common features of governing the American states -- separation of powers, judicial review, partisan legislatures, constitutional constraint on power, and so on. But these commonalities may be used in different ways to create education policy, for political will and technical competence vary among the states. This uniformity and variation appear in our six-state sample.

For example, the governorship might seem a likely fount of policy initiatives in education. Some governors do indeed have a strong role (Pennsylvania and Wisconsin), but in the 1980s all of them took a stronger interest in education as a result of economic recession and the burgeoning school reform movement. In many states governors typically exercise only limited influence. Sometimes that is because of a tradition that policy initiatives will come from the state school board or from the chief state school officer (CSSO) (West Virginia); sometimes it is because gubernatorial leadership is not the norm (Arizona and Illinois). The governor's role can alter because of an incumbents's keen personal interest in education (Pennsylvania). On the other hand, California's governor in the period of this study seemed more interested in accepting policy initiative from the state's CSSO, which has been the West Virginia pattern.

The influence of legislatures in educational policymaking is typically central, especially since all of them were strengthened during the 1970s by the addition of staff (Fuhrman and Rosenthal, 1981). They all took a much greater interest in reducing schooling costs in that decade, while in the mid-1980s they focused on improving school performance. But the legislature's influence on school policy varies among the states. It is weak in policy initiative in West Virginia, fully active in California, and much identified with leadership by individual legislators in Wisconsin. Decisions may be buffeted by political party competition, as in Pennsylvania and California, or dominated by a single-party system, as in Wisconsin. Legislative staff are highly important for the legislature's work in California, and for the individual legislator in Wisconsin, but of limited influence for West Virginia.

Leadership in policy administration is always the domain of the CSSOs, recently they have also taken greater interest in policy innovation. CSSO staffs have expanded everywhere as a result of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, a resource which strengthened their research and legislative liaison influence

(Murphy, 1973, 1980). Today many of them are regularly in the news, such as the incumbents in California and Wisconsin. Some CSSOs are elected, and the legitimacy of their election provides an independent source of political influence in negotiating with other branches. Even in Arizona, a state with little leadership in education in the past, the CSSO has recently emerged as an energetic and effective policy advocate. In West Virginia and Wisconsin, there has been a tradition of strong CSSOs leading reforms. In both states, however, there are differences in the vigor of oversight of local districts; Wisconsin does little and West Virginia much more by tieing oversight to funding.

As for the state board of education, they reflect much diversity in influence. They are relatively strong in Arizona and West Virginia, but weak in California and Illinois. No SBE even exists in Wisconsin (where one finds little sense that something is missed).

This is a mere sketch of the different shapes that the same governing structures can take. We will later provide more patterning of these offices when we examine the perceptions of their policy influence within and across the states.

Multiple Values, Multiple Understandings

The major research question around which this project is centered is: How do we understand the role of values in state education policy? There is, of course, no single way of answering that central question rather there are multiple paths to understanding or recognizing values at work in social institutions. Rather than trying to force all data into a single explanatory or descriptive mold, we must recognize and draw upon various frameworks for comprehending the operation of social values within public policy.

This multifaceted approach exists because different ways of posing the question of values imply different data and methodologies to answer. No one question is the sovereign key to the kingdom of knowledge because there is no agreed upon universal perspective and no single method of analysis in the social sciences, just as there is no normative agreement about the relative importance of the many aspects of a social process. Consequently, across all state education policy systems what "the" role of value is depends upon the data and method of analysis. Therefore, we utilized the different methodological trainings and normative interests of the research team to explore three distinctive paths to recognizing and understanding the role of values in state education policy.

Quantitative Comparisons

Values at work may be recognized and their effects understood by quantitative comparison that creates empirically measurable independent and dependent variables to be manipulated statistically. The purpose of this path is to explain observed variations in a reality that is described in particular ways. This path is undertaken in several chapters that follow. Chapter III examines variations among our six states in the priorities that they attach to basic state policy mechanisms (SPMs). Chapter IV performs the same quantitative comparison of these states' priorities in different program approaches to these SPMs. Chapter VI develops an index of political culture (drawn from policy elites' judgments of their states' populations) and its policy consequences. Chapter VII examines policymakers' personal value perceptions and explores the linkage between these value judgments and state attention to various policy mechanisms and approaches. The central analytical device employed in these chapters are statistical in character: correlation, regression and discriminant analyses.

The limitation of this path to understanding -- as is the case for other paths -- is that it focuses upon certain aspects of policy reality, but ignores others. Essentially this path seeks to answer the question: What accounts for specific, measurable observed differences among the states in their handling of particular policy actions? Basically this method examines differences between certain state characteristics and policy outputs. There is a rich literature sharing this methodology, beginning with Dye's (1966) pioneering work. When it comes to education, the greatest weakness in this research strategy lies in the weakness of its dependent variables. In order to compare policy system outputs we need a clear, consistent and comprehensive framework for identifying and measuring policy activity. The custom in state policy research is to define policies in relation to issues -- that is to first identify an arena of political disagreement of conflict (e.g., finance reform, accountability, equality of educational opportunity, bilingual education, vocational training, student discipline, etc.) and then try to measure actions taken to deal with these conflicts. The problem with this approach is that identical policy actions can be taken to deal with quite different issues. conversely, actions to deal with a single issue can vary so greatly as to make it almost impossible to determine whether one policy system has, in fact, taken action on any particular issue that could be functionally compared to actions taken in other systems.

Recognizing this problem, we devoted a substantial part of our total research effort to reconstructing the dependent variables in state education policy research. As detailed in Chapters III and IV, we by-passed the popular issue oriented conception of policy in favor of an examination of the fundamental mechanisms of control available to state decisionmakers. Seven basic state policy mechanisms (SPMs) were delineated (finance, personnel, student assessment, school program definition, governance, curriculum materials, and school facilities). Within each domain, a cluster of alternative approaches to the exercise of state control were delineated and studied. After reviewing the problems related to the conceptualization and measurement of education policy outputs, we became convinced that a major goal of our own work should be the development of a concise, stable, and easily recognized taxonomy of state policy alternatives. We expect that future development in the quantitative study of education policy systems will be greatly facilitated once an appropriate, enduring dependent variable taxonomy has been developed.

Even if our measurement strategy is completely successful, however, it represents but one way of viewing reality in state education policy systems. There will continue to be other, equally valid and important paths to understanding how values operate to shape education policy formation and implementation.

Explicit Values In Official Actions

Easton's (1965) influential formulation of the political system as "authoritative allocation of values and resources" directs attention to what these authoritative values are. So a second path to understanding focuses on two other data sets -- the state statutes on education and direct measurement of policymakers value preferences.

The primary method utilized to assess the values embedded in statutory codes is textual content analysis. Content analysis of the codes enables us to ascertain the presence and interrelations of our four major values. Content analysis has not been used often for studying educational policy. There have been a few recent studies, however (see the American Bar Association study of state laws on civics curriculum Henning et al., 1979 and analysis of centralization of control by schools Wirt, 1977). Research along this path assumes that the current code incorporates past values in official form, just as our chapters on SPM and approach ratings tell us about current values at work. We find in these "authoritative allocations" the results of past value conflicts.

In short, the official language of statutory codes institutionalizes the dominant values of each state's policy system. By comparing states with different political cultures and socio-economic qualities, we can determine not merely intrastate qualities of values, but how interstate differences may be accounted for by historical and structural conditions of state life. Chapter V employs this path.

Chapter VIII details a second approach to the direct measurement of policy values. It covers the data generated when policymakers were asked to assess the relative importance of various value laden policy problems in education. This pathway to understanding takes us into the subjective preferences and beliefs of key policy actors. The data is quantitative and amenable to statistical analysis, but it leaves behind the objective world of social conditions and concrete actions.

The value preferences expressed in data of this type can be interpreted in two different ways. First, it could be used to analyze or predict the behavior of individual policymakers -- establishing links between their expressed values and their concrete actions. Our study produced little systematic data on individual actions, however. Hence, this line of inquiry could not be pursued in depth.

A second way of using the data was available, however. We aggregated the views of individuals within each state, and tested whether this collective expression of the value preferences of each state's policy elite would help to interpret the priorities and preferences assigned to various state policy mechanisms and/or alternative policy approaches. As detailed in Chapter VIII, this path leads to considerable insight into the origins of state policy action.

The Policymaking Process

The first two paths to recognizing and understanding the role of values in state education look at substantive matters, but a third path focuses upon process -- the process by which policy is made. Education policymaking is purposive, that is value-motivated, activity. Hence, actions taken by policymakers, and their interpretations of those actions, can provide data that reveal latent values. The data for this approach are drawn from interview transcripts and case reports in our six states. Several questions provide the research focus. How do political actors interpret and use their institutional roles or bases? Who influences the process and its outcomes? What perceptions by the policy actors shape the process and their own roles? Do basic state differences give rise to different kinds of process?

There are two ways by which this process-oriented path are studied. One deals with the perceived influence upon educational policy by the individual members of these state elites -- legislators, governor, CSSO, SEA, lobbies, public opinion, and so on. The data are the responses to influence scales about a set of 18 officials, organizations, and carriers of opinion. Such influence assessment on a comparative state basis for education was pioneered for New England by Stephen Bailey and his associates

(1962) and a subsequent 12-state study by Campbell and Mazzoni (1976). Chapter IX explores the dynamics of these interactions among and within our six sample states.

A second way of examining process is to reveal the "assumptive worlds" of the policymakers which act as a filter of external policy demands. This concept is drawn from parallel work by Young (1977). The method involves deducing from transcribed interviews the political actors' dominant orientation symbols -- the perceptions that create a game governing successful participation in education policymaking. This path instructs us about how the policymaking world socializes new members to adopt and follow these informal rules. Members do this in order to maximize their own values -- political advancement, constituency satisfaction, responding to party ideology, penalizing out-groups or deviant game players. The intensive analysis needed to deduce these perceptions and judgments is illustrated in a study of two states in Chapter X.

Summary

This chapter sets the background for approaching the study of state educational policy values. We find that the American states share much in common in values, institutions, and vulnerability to change; yet the states also generate differentiated responses to these common elements of national life. Both the common and dissimilar elements are focused in some basic concepts. One focus is upon four values in education policy -- efficiency, equity, quality, and choice. These appear as having been filtered through the personal element of policymaking that is found in lawmakers who must provide state policy mechanisms in response both to broad demands for action from the general public and narrow demands from interest groups. The great diversity of the 50 states is constrained in this research by focusing upon a sample of six states and by rejecting any single way of comprehending the role of values. Rather, the following analysis utilizes multiple paths for recognizing and understanding the multiple roles for these values. The methodology and research design which focuses the conceptualizations of this chapter are addressed in Chapter II.

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CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The Nature of the Research

The research questions guiding development of the Alternative State Policy mechanisms (ASPM) project centered around the search for modes of understanding or recognizing values at work in education policymaking. This chapter describes the design we used to explore questions about the embodiment of values in policy and the structural and procedural context for policymaking. Because there are many different paths to understanding the process of values embodiment. Nine data sets were collected, representing three distinct methods for discovering and interpreting the incorporation of values into policy. In the first method data on the character of embodied policy values are analyzed to determine whether current state policy attention, and previous policy choices embedded in education codes, reveal distinctive value patterns (displayed in Chapters III, IV, and V). Knowledge about, and attention given to, specific policy mechanisms and approaches, like the policy choices expressed in state education codes, varies systematically from state to state. A second methodology was used to explore policy values -- demonstrating the explanatory power of state political cultures, the political, economic and demographic context of state policy, and the views of knowledgeable elites regarding the importance of various public of state policy goals. These values influence policymaking and help explain differences among states (displayed in Chapters VI, VII, and VIII). Third, the dynamics of value embodiment are examined (in Chapters IX and X). The perceptions and preferences of elites, the influence and power system, and the assumptive worlds are ways of viewing the dynamic system through which values are interpreted and incorporated into policy.

The research quest for ways of understanding the embodiment of values is distinctive. Using Easton's (1965) definition of politics as the "authoritative allocation of values", it focuses on the value of identification and legitimation function of state education policymaking. This focus builds on but differs from, previous research on education policy (e.g. Bailey et al. 1962, and Masters, Salisbury, and Eliot, 1964). It ventures beyond earlier work on legislative structures (e.g. Rosenthal and Fuhrman, 1981), relative resources of policymaking bodies (e.g. Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976), CSSOs and SDEs (e.g. Murphy, 1976 and 1980), and interest group coalitions (e.g. Iannaccone, 1967). And it distinguishes its systems from models of policymaking which analyze policy by tracing the linkage between inputs (such as pressures and demands) and outputs (resource or regulating decisions) (e.g. Easton, 1965, Wirt and Kirst, 1982). To some extent our work builds on Milstein and Jennings' (1973) analysis of the dynamics of the thruput process in state policymaking, but with much stronger emphasis on the concrete structural elements of educating policy decisions.

The focus on where values originate, how they are transformed in response to the current dynamics of the state policy system, and how they can be identified in policy and organized into a systematic taxonomy is a new approach. Its various paths for understanding values embodiment do, however clearly, benefit from the work of these previous researchers who have identified specific actors and explored models of decisionmaking processes, structures, and dynamics. Finally, our research is distinctive in being a study of the most appropriate way to identify and conceptually organize value embodiment in public policy. This study is not primarily an attempt to test a theory. Rather, it is research designed to create theory -- to clarify the process and significance of values embodiment in education policy and, through comparative analysis, show the meaning and explanatory power of several approaches to understanding that embodiment.

The research was conducted in six states, using common data collection strategies, to allow comparative analysis. Such a comparative study of state policy allows for examination of similarities and differences in the common elements in all state policy systems. Comparative analysis among the six sample states identified differences in political culture, revealed patterns in the distribution of power and influence, described the core values of key decisionmakers, and elaborated their assumptions about how policymaking occurs. It also facilitated understanding of how these variables are related to values-embodiment in particular policy and choices.

The study relies entirely on state-level data, with most data collected through interviews and survey responses from 140 key participants in six state education policymaking systems. The data collection and analysis operated at two analytic levels -- the individual policymakers and the state policy system level.

Individuals were used as the unit of analysis for some data sets because:

1. policymakers occupying positions of influence have intimate knowledge of the interworkings of each state policy system and are in the best position to judge the values which guide their operation;
2. these policymakers' own values and preferences affect state policy choices; and
3. policymakers' work as sensors of state problems and of popular values which help to translate these problems into policies, hence they have specialized information regarding the origins and meaning of key policy choices.

In this connection, our study examines how key individuals come to take up a position within the policy system and how individuals account for the transformation of beliefs and problems into specific policy choices.

The aggregate behavior of the six policy systems under study represented another level of analysis. The system level analysis was performed by pooling individual data and interpreting the pattern of average or typical individual responses. Key policy actors individually reported their sense of policy priorities and choices as well as the dynamics and background variables affecting policymaking in their states. The collectivity of their responses served as our "best estimate" of the objective reality of policymaking in each state. These estimates were the basis for description of the actual context of policy within each state and the basis for identifying the similarities and differences in the policy contexts among the six states.

The research was designed to discover and test relationships among pervasive beliefs and perceptions in the policy systems. Therefore, multiple sets of data, both qualitative and quantitative, were collected in each state. The design built upon the strength of qualitative data for discovering subjective meanings and perceptions about relationships. We were also attracted to the strengths of statistical analysis for uncovering the reliability and generalizability of quantified responses to questions about perceptions and beliefs about policy.

An analysis of qualitative data collected during preliminary interviews with key policy actors provided the basis for the design of instruments for collecting quantitative data and, in the analysis of findings, the various sets and types of data were used to check validity, to search for deeper meaning and connections in interpretation and to identify a model of the process of policy choice. Case studies for each state were prepared to facilitate the discovery of links between statistical analyses of quantitative survey responses and qualitative concepts emerging from interview and document analysis.

Conduct of the Research

The research design. Major data collection for this research was undertaken through interviewing key participants in six state education policymaking systems. Two separate rounds of interviewing were done. Round One data were used to develop structured instruments for Round Two.

Round One. In addition to seeking information about influential actors and the best sources of documenting data, the first interviews with key policy actors were designed to elicit data regarding the "overall framework" of one particular State Policy Mechanism (SPM) -- a description of the major goals in that SPM, a recounting of any major changes in the last few years and an assessment of how well that SPM was working. First round interviewees (described in more detail below) responded to the six open-ended questions shown on the protocol in appendix B.

The same procedures and questions were used with all the interviewees to assure comparability. They were asked to focus on a policy area with which they were most involved and knowledgeable. Generally, we had sufficient information prior to the interviews to ensure that all of the State Policy Mechanisms were discussed in this round of interviewing. Interviewees were provided with general information regarding the purpose of the research; they were assured that we would handle the data ethically. Interviewees were encouraged to offer description and insights, focused by the open-ended questions. These interviews were audiotaped and averaged about 45 minutes in length. The audiotapes and field notes from Round One were important for refining the taxonomy, for developing research instruments for Round Two, and for discovering patterns in the context of policymaking.

Follow-up to Round One. Following Round One, the research team met to discuss similarities and differences among the sample states and to develop formal instruments for collection of quantifiable data during Round Two. Site summaries and other devices were used to compare the states policymaking processes and approaches in each SPM. This cross-state comparison provided the insights that helped focus on the elements to be incorporated in Round Two data collection instruments, described below. From this analysis emerged the refinement of the seven SPMs and the identification of the general approaches within each SPM. Questions about rankings, knowledgeability, preferences and processes in the SPMs and their approaches were to be the principal focus in Round Two. The follow-up analysis of Round One data also showed the wide variation in context in the six states and, therefore, reemphasized the importance of gathering more data on values, political culture, and the relative power of various groups and individuals involved in policymaking. The instruments developed for Round Two data collection are presented in Appendices 2 through 8.

Round Two. In contrast to Round One's rather loosely structured interviewing, Round Two interviews were closely structured. Interviewees were asked to provide their perceptions of education policy priorities (organized by SPM) in their state and then to discuss the alternative approaches to policy formation in the domains where they were most knowledgeable. Along with the interview, respondents were asked to fill out the five survey instruments in Appendices 4 through 8. Round Two interviews were also audiotaped. The interviewers, while collecting quantifiable data regarding policy priorities, also took field notes, particularly where respondents offered detail and interpretation. Thus, Round Two yielded extensive quantitative and qualitative data on policy processes, priorities, and goals.

Additional data sets. The education codes of each of the sample states were viewed as key documents that could be analyzed to identify patterns of past policymaking priorities. Therefore, a content analysis of the codes of each state was conducted, organized by the SPM framework.

In addition, a compilation was made of all the 50 states providing baseline information on the political, economic, social, and educational conditions. The extent to which the sample states face special conditions and the ways in which they are representative of the nation as a whole were examined by comparing these states with each other and with all other states on 44 selected variables.

Documents, including annual reports on school systems and student performance, agency policy proposals, budgets, memoranda, dissertations, and other previous research, were collected and analyzed in order to (a) prepare for interviewing, (b) check unclear data, and (c) establish historical conditions of policymaking in each state.

The Sample

Sampling occurred at both of the analytical levels--the states and the individuals.

Selecting the states. The six sample states were selected with the aim of securing maximum variation on the following variables:

1. Political Culture as measured by Elazor (1972). Culture variations are related to both geographic region and degree of centralization of state policy control. Two states representing each of the three political culture types ("moralistic", "individualistic", and "traditionalistic") were chosen, using Elazar's calculations of the culture within each state.
2. Urbanization, as measured by the 1978 U.S. Census. The proportion of the population living in urban areas has been widely viewed as an important mediating role in policymaking, influencing both the processes of political action within various states and the socio-economic basis for political power and influence distribution.
3. Degree of fiscal stress as reported by Adams (1982). Availability (or scarcity) of fiscal resources plays a major role in shaping state-level policy options. Adams' data on states' fiscal status was used to select states with high, medium, and relatively low fiscal stress.

For economic reasons, sample states from among those with the greatest variance on these three basic variables were chosen to include the home states of the three researchers (California, Illinois, and Pennsylvania) and three other states, Wisconsin, West Virginia, and Arizona. A sampling matrix showing the distribution of all states on the three selection variables is shown in Appendix 10.

Round One sample. In Round One a sample of interviewees (at least 12 in each state) were selected to represent the following types:

1. a education advisor to the governor;
2. legislative education policy committee chairs;
3. legislative fiscal (both revenue and appropriations) committee chairs;
4. key staff members serving education and finance committees;
5. the chief state school officer, or a top staff associate;
6. top officials in the States School Boards Association;
7. top officials in the school administrators association;
8. top officials in the teachers' associations;
9. key informants who were long-time observers of education policymaking, e.g., education reporters, educational administration professors, and people who were in policy positions in the past; and
10. one or more state board of education members.

This sampling was based on assumptions about who were "obviously" involved and had important insights regarding education policymaking. Ninety-five percent of those asked agreed to be interviewed.

Round Two sample. During Round One, interviewees were asked to identify key actors who were involved and knowledgeable in education policymaking. Round Two's sample in each state was drawn from this insider-based list. Approximately 70 percent of Round Two interviewees were drawn from individuals interviewed in the Round One sample. In addition to being in "obvious" positions of influence, they were identified by insiders as being knowledgeable and involved in policymaking for education. The remaining 30 percent of the Round Two sample were new to the study, having been identified by first round participants. They included large city schools' lobbyists, other special interest group lobbyists, legislative staff, and SDE staff. Round Two interviews and data collection lasted from 30 minutes to more than two hours. The sessions were audiotaped.

Instrument Construction

This research design required two different types of data and two different types of data collection instruments.

The qualitative instruments. The interviewing procedures and instruments for this study were designed with the recognition that policymakers' have their own language, meanings systems, and motivations (Marshall, 1984). The instruments and approaches were designed to motivate them to participate openly and to understand enough our intent so that their responses would be relevant to the research questions. The protocol for Round One interviewing was designed to ensure that interviewees had information about the purpose of the research and assurances of confidentiality, and that each interviewee in each state would be asked the same questions. Through this instrument, entry and receptivity of interviewees would be facilitated, and comparability of data would be assured. A letter of introduction requesting Round One interviews is included in Appendix 1. The instrument itself can be found in Appendix 2.

The protocol had the following core questions:

1. Who are the key education policy people?
2. Are there any good reports, summaries, or crucial documents that describe policy in the SPMs?
3. What is the overall framework of policy in (the SPM area which is most familiar to the interviewee)? Specifically:
    - a. What are the most important goals or objectives?
    - b. Have there been major changes in the last few years?
    - c. Are you happy with the way these policies are working?

This interview was developed to be conducted as a "conversation" so the interviewees were encouraged to expand on their responses.

In Round Two, a two-part interview instrument was developed for the portion of the data collection that followed the interview format. The questions were framed by an emerging taxonomy of SPMs and competing approaches; the purpose was to collect individuals' perceptions of the priorities in their states' educational policymaking. The protocol focused on eight main questions, guided by the protocol shown in Appendix 3. A notebook containing a listing and definitions of the SPMs and of the various approaches to the SPMs was prepared as a guide for the interviewee's responses. A different notebook, containing forms to fill with the interviewee responses, was prepared for compiling the responses in a systematic and easily retrievable manner. These instruments were designed to collect both qualitative interview data and quantitative data. The data recording instrument is shown in Appendix 4.

The Round Two interview protocols were pilot tested with five interviewees in Arizona by Mitchell, who trained the other two researchers to anticipate certain questions and to provide standard responses to those questions.

The instrument was designed to ensure a collection of comparable data. Interviewees were told (or reminded) of the purpose and procedures of the study and were directed to the list of the seven SPMs in the notebook. The questioning centered around the following core information sought:

1. ranking of SPMs with regard to the amount of attention in the last few years.
2. perception of whether any SPM should be receiving more, or less attention.
3. ranking of the SPMs in order of individual's knowledgeability. Responses were elicited verbally and recorded in the interviewer's notebook.

The instrument was designed so that interviewees were informed that, within each SPM domain, a variety of competing policy approaches are found -- principal alternate approaches were displayed in the notebooks. Respondents were asked to respond to questions about competing approaches related to the three SPMs about which they were most knowledgeable. The questioning centered around the following core questions:

1. a ranking of which approaches have been receiving the most attention and an example of a specific policy incorporating the most popular approach.
2. personal preferences of the most promising approaches, how the state incorporates this preferred way of approaching an SPM and an assessment of how likely the state was to follow the respondent's policy preferences in the particular SPM, domain under discussion over the next few years.

The responses were recorded in the interviewer's notebook which was organized, as were the questions, to facilitate quantification of these responses while, at the same time, collecting rich qualitative data as interviewees expanded on their responses.

The quantitative instruments. In order to compile quantitative data that would facilitate cross-case comparison on key variables, structured instruments were devised to accompany interviewing. Five instruments were developed to collect quantitative data in Round Two along with the recorded interview data described above. Several were pilot tested in university classes. All of these instruments were pilot tested in Arizona. They were compiled in the same notebook which interviewees received (as described above) so that they would be filled out as a second portion of the Round Two interview, with the interviewer present to direct and to answer questions, to continue the "conversational" tone of interviewing, and to continue audiotaping.

One instrument was developed to assess the states'responses to a major national report on the status of education systems. This instrument, shown in Appendix 5, solicited information on each state's response to A Nation at Risk recommendations. Unlike the SPM taxonomy, the recommendations were not organized by a framework designed to capture the range of policy mechanism options for education. The instrument was to yield data that could be used to compare an empirical descriptive analysis of policy action with the

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analysis based on the taxonomy of SPMs. The instrument listed 30 specific recommendations found in the A Nation At Risk report, and asked respondents to circle, on a scale of 1 - 5, where their state stood in taking action based on the recommendations (1 = no action or serious discussion; 5 = implementation under way).

A second instrument was developed to uncover individual value systems as they apply to education policymaking. The instrument, developed with a format similar to the semantic differential developed by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) and refined by Mitchell (1981), was entitled "What Do You Feel Are the Important Policy Problems in Your State?" See Appendix 6 for full display of the instrument.

The instrument linked particular SPM-based options with fundamental values of equity, choice, efficiency, or quality. It consisted of 18 pairs of phrases. Respondents were presented with the task of making choices between particular policy/value combinations, indicating which combination more closely fit with their values and policy preferences when paired with one other policy/value option.

Prior research on goals and fundamental values (e.g., Garms and Guthrie, 1978) and on recent state policymaking (e.g., Odden Doherty, 1982; McLaughlin, 1981) provided the logic for matching particular values with particular policy options. So, for example, respondents were presented with items such as this one:

Respondents' forced choices would be an indication of the value/preference used to select particular policy options. Marking closer to the left reflected that the respondent, prefers an educational quality policy approach to one emphasizing a democratic choice value. Instructions directed respondents to place an "X" on the line dividing these items -- closest to the phrase most closely representing their own views regarding which of the problems is most in need of attention in their state.

A third instrument was developed to elicit individual respondents' perceptions of the relative influence of the various groups and key actors in state policymaking. This instrument (presented in Appendix 7) was aimed at eliciting a numerical scale of the power ranking of policy groups -- one way of creating individual models of the policy world of each state.

It was developed from a review of previous research, (e.g., Fuhrman and Rosenthal, 1981; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Mitchell, 1981) on state policy systems as well as from Round One findings. The relevant policy groups were identified and informants were asked to give their perception of the power and influence in education policymaking of each group, on a scale of 1 - 7.

The fourth instrument was developed to elicit the individual respondents' perceptions of the political culture of their states. The Political Culture Instrument was a questionnaire designed to test the cultural labels of our states assigned by Elazar (1984) against the judgment of educational policy makers in the states. The object was to tap "the set of perceptions of what politics is and what can be expected from government, held by both the general public and the politicians" (Elazar, 1984, p. 112). The first requirement was that informants give not their views of a cultural object, such as party competition, but their perception of how people in the state generally feel about the matter. The cultural objects explored were those set out by Elazar (see Chapter 6) -- government, political parties, bureaucracy. Eleven such objects were derived. Respondents were asked to rank order three possible characterizations for each object. One characterization was written to fit each of the three Elazar culture types -- Traditionalist, Moralist and Individualist. Elazar's wording was followed as closely as possible.

This measurement device is displayed in Appendix 8. It was intended to check whether, states which Elazar labelled, Moralistic, Tradionalistic or Individualistic could also be so labelled by key state decisionmakers.

Finally, in order to describe our sample and ensure that it was not skewed, an instrument was developed to collect data on the education, experience and other background characteristics of interviewees. It required them to check or fill in blanks to provide data about age, professional training, number of years in position, political party affiliation, overall political orientation, and income -- variables representative of the broad array of factors typically found to influence social behavior

(Mitchell, 1981). This instrument, the "Personal Data Form," is shown in Appendix 9.

Content Analysis of the Education Codes

Discussion of the document data led to the development of a process for analyzing the education codes of the six states to examine how each state used the State Policy Mechanisms to implement certain values. For example, the codes analysis might reveal that State X's equity values showed up primarily in school finance codes, but seldom in the other State Policy Mechanisms, while State Y exhibited equity values in curriculum materials and school personnel as well as in school finance State Policy Mechanisms.

The analysis of codes was viewed as another way of testing the viability of the taxonomy. The taxonomy was used to organize units in the codes according to the State Policy Mechanism in which they fit, to the approaches they exemplified, and the dominant value evidenced. The assumption was that, while codes may not reflect current values, they do represent a compilation of values that have been predominant in the past. Common operational definitions of units of analysis, State Policy Mechanisms, approaches, and values were developed to conduct the content analysis of the codes. An example of the forms created for this content analysis is shown in Appendix 4.

Data Reduction and Analysis Procedures

The data, both qualitative and quantitative, were analyzed twice -- once using the individual policy actors as the unit of analysis in order to understand the diversity of their perceptions of policymaking in all states. In a second analysis the data were aggregated within the states to describe the unique characteristics of states, to identify differences by comparing state averages, and to identify national trends as evidenced by the six states. This section recounts the methods of analysis.

Transcription of Audiotapes. Selected interview tapes were transcribed, verbatim. Tapes that were illuminating to the research questions, that were particularly comprehensive, and tapes of interviews of people from different policy groups were selected. These transcriptions were used as aids to making cross-state comparisons and as data sources for discovering differences and similarities in language and stories in the six states.

Document analysis. Documents collected during field work were filed and were treated as data sources, as checks for accuracy, meaning, and validity in interpreting other data. They were particularly useful in the construction of the case studies.

Case studies. As an aid in cross-case analysis and as a display of the various data regarding the background, processes, and context of policymaking, case studies of each state were compiled following a common outline. The common case study themes regarding background conditions, structures, and current education policymaking, in rich description, showed ways in which our states were importantly different.

Dissertations. Two of the research assistants in the project were doctoral students, who used the data some of the analytic methods in their dissertations. The studies focused on Pennsylvania and California education policymaking.

Quantitative data analysis techniques. There were seven sets of data analyzed by statistical methods appropriate to the research questions. In addition to descriptive statistics on all of the relevant variables, L-tests of group differences, discriminant analysis of state differences, analysis of variance and correlation analysis were utilized where appropriate to illuminate the level of significance and substantiate meaning of the data collected. Details of each analytic technique employed are described as the findings are presented.

Analysis of the Education Codes.

The content analysis of the six states' education codes revealed problems in analysis. First, comparison of all six states was not possible. The codes were organized very differently. The agreement to focus on the smallest code-numbered subsection in the code as the unit of analysis, to analyze according to SPM, approach, and dominant value did not overcome the analysis problems in states like West Virginia whose code section encompasses several SPMs and values in page-long sections. The range in the volume of the codes in the sample states undermined cross-case comparison. In the end comparable code analyses were completed on only two of the six states.

Problems in analysis occurred because of the following:

1. Governance and finance State Policy Mechanisms in the codes cut across the other five State Policy Mechanisms in the codes.

2. Codes sections frequently contained more than one value.

3. Classification required unreliable judgment calls about legislative intent. For example, when a code section stipulates that vocational education program plans should be on view, it was unclear whether this represents a governance policy because it provides for community access to plans or a program definition policy because it limits program options. Nor is it clear whether this code section is to assure high quality, choice, or perhaps even efficiency, because it keeps decisionmaking accountable?

4. Codes were not written in equal units, either within state or among states, so comparisons within and among states were necessarily uneven.

In two states, however, (Illinois and Wisconsin) these problems were overcome by counting all references to any value within a code section, rather than one value only. Moreover, inter-code reliability for these two states was high. Hence, Chapter V reports the findings from code analyses in Illinois and Wisconsin.

Analysis of the 50-State Data File

Data were gathered describing key input, output, and structural variables in all 50 states for two reasons: (a) in order to compare the sample states with each other, and (b) in order to test the extent to which they are representative of the nation as a whole. Therefore, a posteriori analysis was conducted using 44 variables. A matrix was compiled of all 50 states on education policy inputs and outputs. Analysis of these variables is discussed in Chapter VII.

Analysis of Qualitative Data

Interview data from one state (Pennsylvania) were analyzed and filed by micro-computer. Although the process of coding and filing data electronically is laborious, it provides a means for calling up data in many forms and discovering patterns from qualitative data. The Pennsylvania data were filed according to informant, date, position, and major categories which a datum represents. The categories were derived from the policy mechanism taxonomy, policymaker assumptions about policy formation, relations among state level agencies, and so on. Thus a particular quote would be filed under "Governor's Influence in Policy Formulation"; an illustrative quote, plus the identify and position of the informant, and the date of the data collection would be readily available. (Marshall and Lynch, 1985).

Field notes, documents, and transcribed interviews from all six sample states were examined for details in order to complete case studies for each state. These qualitative data sources were examined for the insights they could provide to clarify or expand on findings resulting from statistical analyses. Taken together, word usage and the social interaction framework displayed in the language of the interviewees were used to construct a picture of the "assumptive worlds" used by key actors in state policy systems to orient themselves to the decisionmaking process (See Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Validity Checking

Before beginning to interpret the substantive meaning of the data collected our sampling strategy was subjected to a validity check.

Validity checking procedures were developed at both levels of analysis--the individual and the state. The characteristics of the respondents showed a distribution of background and orientations that reflect the general characteristics of education policymakers among the states, as shown in Figure 2-1.

There is no indication in their demographic profiles to suggest that the sample of individuals was skewed or non-representative of state education policy actors. The distribution of respondents across the six sample states, classified according to their formal roles within the policy system, is shown in Figure 2-2. As indicated by the modest variation in cell values within the table, and the nonsignificant chi-square value shown below the table, our respondents were well distributed. The largest number (31.9%) were representatives of various statewide interest groups (primarily professional educator groups, but a sprinkling of taxpayer groups and other noneducator groups were included). A similar number (30.4%) were drawn from the ranks of the executive branch of government. Legislators were the third largest group (21.5% and legislative staff consultants the smallest group (16.3%).

Within the sample, the full range of the seven SPMs were represented in respondents' self-reported knowledge, although self-reported knowledge in finance (the most reported) far outweighed self-reported knowledge in Curriculum Materials and Buildings in the sample.

Figure 2-1: Background Characteristics of the Average Respondent

Tenure in Present Position	4 - 5 years
Age	40 - 49 years
Sex	80% Male
Ethnicity	94% White
Occupation	30% were educators
Highest Degree Earned	Masters
B.A. Field	Education, Science and Math, Social
Sciences	
M.A. Field	Education, Science and Math, Social
Sciences	
Ph.D. Field (N=35)	Education, Science and Math
Teacher Certification	51% of sample
Administrator's Certification	35% of sample
Law License	6% of sample
Family Income	$50,000
Political Orientation	Moderate
Political Party Affiliation	Slightly more Democrat than Republican

FIGURE 2-2. Crosstabulation of Respondent Role and State of Residence

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                      STATE
              COUNT  I
                     I  AZ       CA       IL       PA       WV       WI
                     I                                                        TOTAL
            ---------+--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
                     I  10    I   5    I   8    I   5    I   7    I   7    I  42
Exec. Branch         I        I        I        I        I        I        I  30.0
                     +--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
                     I   4    I   5    I   5    I   4    I   1    I   5    I  24
Legis. Staff         I        I        I        I        I        I        I  17.1
                     +--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
                     I   6    I   4    I   2    I   8    I   4    I   6    I  30
Legislators          I        I        I        I        I        I        I  21.4
                     +--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
                     I  10    I   3    I   8    I  10    I   7    I   6    I  44
Int. Grp. Reps.      I        I        I        I        I        I        I  31.9

                      --------+--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
             COLUMN     30       17       23       24       19       24      140
             TOTAL      22.2     12.6     17.0     17.8     12.6     17.8    100.0


 CHI-SQUARE     D.F.    SIGNIFICANCE     MIN E.F.     CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
 ----------     ----    ------------     --------     ------------------
   13.90        15      0.533 (n/s)       2.770       9 of 24    (37.5%)
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As can be seen, there was no significant difference in roles in the samples. One hundred forty unweighted cases were usable for this analysis.

Summary

A complex but coordinated research design allowed comparative analysis of six states' processes of embodiment of values. It allowed us to explore the viability of a taxonomy for organizing policy/values enactments and to examine the explanatory power of several paths to understanding how values are incorporated into policy.

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CHAPTER III

STATE POLICY MECHANISMS:
RANKING, ATTENTION, KNOWLEDGEABILITY

One of the primary reasons for undertaking this study was the development and clarification of a theoretically consistent and operationally powerful taxonomy of state policy mechanisms (SPMs). The development of such a taxonomy is important to the improvement of both research and practice in public education. From a research perspective, identification of an empirically reliable taxonomy is a an important pre-requisite to tracing decision making processes within any policy system. That is, in order to know whether various policies have been shaped by identifiable social forces or affected by specific organizational and political structures, we need to be able to accurately classify them -- to differentiate between similar and dis-similar types of action and then identify systemic regularities associated with each class. If we operate with a taxonomic structure that views all education policy decisions as similar, or one that sees every policy issue as unique, we will be unable to explore the regularities of the policy system or to develop meaningful hypotheses for explaining either the processes by which state education policies are made or the impacts which they will have on school performance.

From a practical perspective, it is obvious that state level policy making deeply affects to day-to-day school operations. It is equally clear that states borrow very heavily from each other -- passing very similar laws and regulations in waves as "hot issues" become political cause celebres, for legislative or state agency sponsors who thrust them onto the political agenda in attempts to become recognized as "dynamic leaders" who "care about the schools." In the absence of a basic policy taxonomy, however, neither these sponsors nor the school systems toward which their efforts are directed can predict the effects of particular policy actions.

The development of a policy taxonomy begins with the recognition that state level policy systems are complex and the decisions which they make vary widely. In the last few years, for example, several states have adopted "comprehensive" school improvement programs aimed at integrating into a unified strategy various combinations of fiscal, organizational, staff development, curriculum enhancement and student assessment elements (among the most active are California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Pennsylvania -- see Odden & Dougherty, 1982; McLaughlin, 1981). Most states, however, have undertaken narrower and less vigorous action in dealing with education. In many states some form of student and/or teacher testing and assessment programs have figured prominently in recent policy debates (Arizona, Nebraska, New Mexico, South Carolina, and Wisconsin have been especially active in this area). Once the states with so-called "comprehensive programs" and those following a "testing strategy" have been identified, it is difficult to discern any systematic distinctions among the myriad of policies being adopted in the name of school improvement. Even the empirically simple distinction between comprehensive school improvement programs and narrower testing and assessment policies is not very helpful if we are trying to understand why states adopt particular policies or are trying to predict whether adopted policies will be effectively implemented. "Comprehensive programs" and "student assessment policies" are not, after all, mutually exclusive categories. Every comprehensive program has to deal in some way with testing issues. And every testing policy is part of some form of overall policy framework, even if it has been adopted "piece-meal" over a period of years. Moreover, the content of various "comprehensive reform" programs differs so much from one state to the next that it is hard to justify treating them as comparable policy mechanisms in any sense other than the fact that they represent a bundle of policies all adopted at about the same time.

We concluded, therefore, that development of a formal taxonomy, one that would systematically classify all major policies and appropriately distinguish among them would be an invaluable contribution to long term analysis of state policy systems. The needed taxonomy, we reasoned, could be either "empirical" or "theoretical" in character. That is, the taxonomy could be constructed by closely examining the similarities and differences among existing policies and clustering them into meaningful groups based on these empirically observed characteristics, or it could be constructed by identifying a set of analytical concepts (or variables) capable of describing and accounting for all of the possible education policy variations (whether they can be empirically observed or not). We found some examples of empirical taxonomic frameworks in the literature, but they tended to be neither consistently developed nor comprehensively applied (see, e.g., Odden & Dougherty, 1982; McLaughlin, 1981; Manifest International, 1981; Mitchell, 1981; Kirst, 1980). The problem with empirical construction of a taxonomies is that they are typically of only instrumental value to the researchers working on them -- used as a handy way to summarize data but not intended to meet the basic criteria of a sound taxonomic structure: the use of categories that are simultaneously exhaustive (covering all elements) and mutually exclusive (allowing particular policies to be classified as belonging to one and only one category).

This tendency can be overcome if we use a theoretical framework to guide category development. To do so, we must decide what underlying characteristic, common to all policy elements, will serve as the basis for developing categories. At least three different bases for approaching this problem can be found in the literature on public policy. The first approach, illustrated in Garms, Guthrie and Pierce (1978), distinguishes taxonomic categories on the basis of the fundamental social values which they embody. (These authors assert that school finance policies can be distinguished on the basis of whether they contribute to the "equality", "efficiency", or "liberty" values that underlie all policy decisions). Kaufman (1956) originated this approach to a social value-based taxonomy of public policies. He argued that the three values of "democratic legitimacy", "organizational efficiency", and "neutral technical competence" are held in constant tension in American politics -- and that particular policy choices must, at least implicitly, embrace one of these values at the expense of the others.

A second theoretical approach to taxonomy development is found in Lowi's (1964) provocative work. He emphasizes the importance of looking to the economic consequences of various policy choices in order to classify them. (He originated the distinction between "distributive", "re-distributive", and "regulatory" policies -- later adding a fourth policy category, "constituency", to this list). This taxonomic structure classifies policy actions according to their impact on the distribution of costs and benefits resulting from their enactment. Lowi's categorical scheme has been widely used. It has been especially well applied by Paul Peterson and several of his students (see, e.g., Rabe and Peterson, 1982; 1983).

The third theoretical principle of classification found in the literature, and the one which we found most appropriate for this study, focuses on the basic control mechanisms available to state level policy makers. Mitchell & Iannaccone (1979) used this principle of classification in looking at the impact of legislative policy on school operations. They distinguished only three basic mechanisms: resource allocation, rule making, and ideological belief articulation. A few years later, Mitchell and Encarnation (1984) argued that the control mechanism principle could be used to distinguish among seven different SPMs. Their work became the starting point for the taxonomic structure developed in this research. As described below, our field data led to substantive revisions and detailed elaboration of the Mitchell and Encarnation framework.

Defining Education Policy Mechanisms

In our field research, identification of specific SPMs was approached in two stages. First, we asked whether observed state level policies can be reliably divided into a meaningful set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories -- categories that enable us to distinguish which SPMs are most prominent and which are least frequently considered within each state's policy making system. Finding that we could distinguish among seven basic policy mechanisms we then asked whether the policy debates within each policy domain are focused on a limited set of easily identified competing approaches to the resolution of educational issues and problems.

The work by Mitchell and Encarnation (1984) provided a tentative list of seven basic SPMs to guide our initial data collection activities. Their list included: 1) school organization and governance, 2) personnel training and certification, 3) school program definition, 4) curriculum materials development and selection, 5) student testing and assessment, and two finance policy domains -- 6) revenue generation and 7) resource allocation.

Shortly after our field work began, this preliminary list was altered in two ways. First, it was soon discovered that we had overlooked an important policy domain: the construction of school buildings and facilities. This policy mechanism was identified through early interviews with key actors in California and West Virginia. It was seen as an important element in the overall repertoire of state level decisions by a small, but significant group of respondents in all of our sample states. It was probably missed earlier because building and facilities decisions generally have a very low political profile and tend to change rather slowly.

A second change was required because our early field interviews clearly demonstrated that in most cases the generation of education revenues is so entangled with problems of revenue generation for the states' general funds that clear description of how this SPM operates would require a very broad approach to state policy formation and would exhaust our available time and resources. Hence we reluctantly decided to limit our analysis of school finance policies to those that deal with resource allocation, leaving revenue generation for later study.

After revision through the early field work, the following definitions were adopted for the seven basic state policy mechanisms in education:

I. School Finance: controlling who pays for education, how those costs are distributed, and how human and fiscal resources are allocated to the schools.

II. School Personnel Training and Certification: controlling the conditions for getting or keeping various jobs in the school system.

III. Student Testing & Assessment: fixing the timing and consequences of testing, including subjects covered and the distribution of test data.

IV. School Program Definition: controlling program planning and accreditation, or otherwise specifying what schools must teach and how long they must teach it.

V. School Organization & Governance: the assignment of authority and responsibility to various groups and individuals.

VI. Curriculum Materials: controlling the development and/or selection of textbooks and other instructional materials.

VII. School Buildings & Facilities: determination of architecture, placement and maintenance for buildings and other school facilities.

Assessing Policy Makers Views

Having clarified the seven basic state policy domains through literature review and preliminary interviews, a second round of interviews was undertaken to determine whether the taxonomy could be used by policy makers to help describe the overall context of education policy formation in their respective states. A sample of 140 key actors from six states were asked three broad questions about the seven SPMs:

1. How much attention is being given to each SPM in your state?

In answering this question, respondents were given a list of the seven SPMs -- each accompanied by examples of several policy actions that fit the definition. They were asked to review the list carefully and then rank order the SPMs from 1 to 7 on the basis of the relative amount of attention that was being given to each within the overall state policy making system.

2. Are the various SPMs being given too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention by policy makers in this state?

In responding to this question, respondents were asked to review the SPM list and indicate which, if any, were in need of more (or less) attention. They were encouraged to offer their own personal judgment in response to this question -- rather than adopting the reportorial stance which was requested in response to the first question.

3. Which SPMs do you feel most knowledgeable about?

To answer this question, respondents were asked to identify the three SPMs with which they were most familiar. (They were subsequently asked to discuss alternative approaches to the SPMs with which they were most familiar -- those responses are described in the next chapter).

We turn now to an analysis of the responses to these three questions. The data will be reviewed in three steps. First, an analysis will be made of the extent to which respondents from all six sample states hold similar views regarding the SPMs. By looking at commonalities across all six states, we will be able to gain a national perspective -- to discover the extent to which policy makers in all states confront similar education problems and develop similar responses.

Secondly, with this national view in mind, we will disaggregate the respondents into their respective state sub-groups and examine the extent to which views in one state differ from those in the others. Using a simple analysis of variance (ANOVA) technique, we examine whether policy makers report systematic differences in: a) the amount of attention given to each SPM, b) the belief that some SPMs are getting more or less attention than needed, and c) the degree to which they feel knowledgeable about each of the policy domains.

Third, since there are significant inter-state differences, we will apply multiple discriminant analysis to the data to assist in describing more precisely the ways in which the states differ.

The National Perspective: State Commonalities

To what extent do policy makers in all six states report similar amounts of attention being given to each policy domain? During the second round of interviews each respondent was given a list of the seven basic SPMs, asked to examine the list carefully, and to rank order the SPMs on the basis of which ones had received the most attention within their states during the last two or three years. The mean scores of responses from 140 policy makers are shown in Table 3-1.

Insert Table 3-1 about here.

TABLE 3-1. Ranking of the Amount of Attention Given to the Seven Basic State Policy Mechanisms

State Policy Mechanism	Mean	
School Finance	1.555	
		gap
Personnel Training & Certification	3.343	
Student Testing & Assessment	3.372	¦
Program Definition	3.529	¦
		gap
School Organization/Governance	5.106	
Curriculum Materials	5.044	¦
		gap
Building, Plant & Facilities	5.894	

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

Total variance in the mean scores is 1.846 which is 46% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 7 ranking for the seven SPMs.

Two important conclusions can be drawn from the data on this table. First, there is a remarkably high level of agreement among respondents in all six of the sample states that the most prominent educational policy mechanism is control over the allocation of fiscal resources to the schools, and that the least frequently utilized mechanism is the one dealing with school building, plant and facilities issues. Had the respondents randomly ranked the seven SPMs each would have received a mean score across the entire sample of 3.5 (half way between 1 and 7). The mean rank of 1.555 for school finance reflects an overwhelming agreement that this is the most frequently used mechanism for influencing school performance. As indicated on the table, the seven SPMs were differentiated into four distinct clusters by the respondents. Following school finance, personnel training and certification, student testing and assessment, and program definition policies were ranked very much alike (their mean rankings of 3.343, 3.372, and 3.529 respectively did not differ significantly). All three of these means were significantly below that for school finance and well above the 5.044 mean score for school organization and governance policies. The third cluster of SPMs were those dealing with school governance and curriculum materials policies. These two SPMs did not differ from each other but did differ from all others. Finally, the 140 respondents agreed that their states pay least attention to school building and facilities policies. The mean of 5.894 for this SPM reflects a very strong agreement that it is near the bottom of the list (averaging only a bit more than one point above the 7.00 last place given by each individual respondent).

One way of assessing the extent of agreement among the respondents is to compare the variance of the mean scores for the total group with the variance in the typical 1 through 7 ranking given by individual respondents. The ranks 1 through 7 have an overall variance of 4.00. The group means which range from 1.555 to 5.894 have a total variance of 1.862 which is 46% of the individual variance. Hence, on average, our respondents agreed 46% of the time with the ranking given to all SPMs by all other respondents -- a remarkable degree of agreement when we consider that these respondents represent six states as diverse as those in our sample.

Should the state give more or less attention to each SPM? In addition to asking respondents to rank the seven SPMs, we asked them to indicate whether any of the policy mechanisms are receiving either more attention than they need and deserve or less attention that they believe is appropriate. Their responses were scored -1.0 for an expressed belief that the SPM should be getting less attention, 0.0 if the amount of attention was viewed as "about right", and +1.0 if it was felt that the SPM should be receiving greater attention by state policy makers. The mean scores for the 140 respondents are shown on Table 3-2.

Insert Table 3-2 about here.

TABLE 3-2. Expressed Beliefs about the Need for State Policy Makers to Give Greater Attention to each State Policy Mechanism

State Policy Mechanism	Mean		
Personnel Training & Certification	0.362		
School Finance	0.283	¦	
School Organization/Governance	0.261	¦	¦
Building, Plant & Facilities	0.261	¦	¦
Curriculum Materials	0.203		¦
Program Definition	0.130	¦	
Student Testing & Assessment	0.043		¦

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level.

The first thing to note about the scores shown in Table 3-2 is that they are all positive. That is, on average, our respondents believed that all of the seven SPMs should be receiving greater attention. At least 35% of all respondents believe that personnel training and certification policies need greater attention. More that 25% felt that finance, governance and school building policies need greater attention, and over 20% felt that curriculum materials need more attention. Only the student testing and assessment SPM appeared to be getting about as much attention as our respondents feel is appropriate.

When the data are disaggregated by state, the pattern is about the same, with two notable exceptions (the individual state means are shown on Table 3-9). First, Arizona respondents felt quite strongly that student testing issues are getting too much attention in that state (they gave this SPM a mean rating for needed attention of -.367). Second, California respondents tended to agree that school finance policies are given too much attention in that state (a mean attention rating of -.118)

As shown at the right side of Table 3-2, there are no rank to rank gaps in the level of attention sought for each of the seven SPMs by our total respondent group. The mean score of .362 for the top ranked school personnel domain is not significantly greater that any of the next three SPMs. A paired t-test for group differences shows that the first four SPMs (personnel, finance, governance and building facilities) are believed to need greater attention more frequently than are the last two (program definition and student testing).

Which SPMs to policy makers feel most knowledgeable about? EAch respondent was asked to identify three of the seven policy domains that he/she felt most knowledgeable about or familiar with and to discuss policy making in those areas in more detail. While our motivation for asking this question was primarily to provide a seguay into a discussion of alternative policy approaches (the details of which are described in the next chapter), we recorded responses to this question and found that they provide additional insight into the context of state level education policy formation.

As might be expected, policy makers tended to feel most knowledgeable about the SPMs that they reported to be receiving the most attention. As shown in Table 3-3, nearly 80% of all respondents felt that they knew about school finance issues. Less than 20% felt most comfortable discussing either school building or curriculum materials policies. T-tests of the mean scores indicate that there are three distinct levels of knowledge about the seven SPMs. Roughly half the respondents felt comfortable with the second cluster of SPMs: personnel, student testing, program definition and school governance. Expressed familiarity with these four SPMs differed significantly from both the highly familiar school finance and the poorly understood building and curriculum materials clusters.

Insert Table 3-3 about here.

TABLE 3-3. Expressed Knowledgeability Regarding each of the Seven Basic State Policy Mechanisms

State Policy Mechanism	Mean	
School Finance	0.786	
		gap
Personnel Training & Certification	0.550	¦
Student Testing & Assessment	0.486	¦ ¦
Program Definition	0.464	¦ ¦
School Organization/Governance	0.400	¦
		gap
Building, Plant & Facilities	0.186	¦
Curriculum Materials	0.171	¦

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

* * *

It is difficult to see any reason other than the political salience of the various SPMs that could account for the strong pattern of agreement among respondents. It is certainly no easier to understand school finance than building policies. And the professionally arcane issues of student testing seem to be just as broadly understood as the more political and controversial issues of school governance. At the present moment, leverage on school performance seems to be more easily enhanced through finance and personnel reform, but that was not always the case. For most of the 50s and 60s school governance was the hot topic, and we suspect it would have been seen as the most familiar topic if our study had been done 30 years ago.

Inter-state Differences in Policy Profiles

Having noted that the strong agreements among all respondents on the level of attention currently being given to each SPM, the need for more attention to them, and the level of familiarity respondents feel about each domain, we turn now to analyzing whether there are significant inter-state differences as well. Two approaches are used to discover and analyze these inter-state differences. First, a simple one-way analysis of variance is used on the responses to our three questions about the SPMs to determine whether there are significant differences in the mean scores on answers given by respondents from each of the various states. Second, multiple discriminant analysis is applied to the question responses in order to provide an overall multivariate summary of the inter-state differences initially identified through univariate analyses of variance.

Are there differences in the amount of attention given to the various SPMs? Table 3-4 shows the results of one-way ANOVAs applied to the level of attention rankings reported for each of the seven SPMs. For five of the SPMs interstate differences are highly significant (p-values for them approach 0.000). Only the first place ranking of for school finance and the fourth place ranking of school program definition do not appear to differ significantly from one state to another. (With an F-statistic of 2.194, p=0.059, the school finance SPM comes very close to the criteria for establishing significant variation in ranking across the states).

Insert Table 3-4 about here.

Do differences exist in the extent to which policy makers believe that each policy domain should be given more or less attention than it is now receiving? Table 3-5 presents a similar report of ANOVA tests on the degree to which respondents from different states feel differently about the degree to which each of the seven SPMs should be receiving more (or less) attention from state policy makers than it now does. As indicated in the last column of the table, our respondents disagreed about the need for additional attention on four of the seven SPMs. All tended to support the great need for more attention to personnel policy matters, and all seemed to agree

TABLE 3-4. Univariate Tests of Inter-State Differences in Ranking of Seven Basic SPMs

POLICY MECHANISM	MEAN	SD	F	SIG
School Finance	1.555	1.135	2.124	0.067
Personnel	3.343	1.466	5.096	0.000**
Student Testing	3.372	1.521	22.160	0.000**
Program Definition	3.529	1.559	1.239	0.294
Organization/Governance	5.044	1.470	6.456	0.000**
Curric. Materials	5.106	1.449	6.408	0.000**
Buildings/Facilities	5.894	1.536	17.690	0.000**

** probability less than .001.

that relatively modest increases in attention are required for curriculum materials and program definition policies.

We found the program definition SPM the most curious. Most of the outpouring of policy reports dealing with the problems of American education -- beginning with the Nation at Risk report -- have taken the view that school program definition policies are of crucial importance to the improvement of education. That our respondents ranked this SPM fourth, and reported only modest interest in increasing attention here, rather than on personnel, finance, governance or building and facilities policies struck us as a bit of an anomaly. Perhaps it takes time for the spate of new reports to be internalized and produce an upswing in attention to program definition. Or perhaps state policy makers are able to see that the other policy domains are more promising avenues of school improvement.

Insert Table 3-5 about here.

To what extent are there differences among the states in the degree of familiarity policy makers express about the various SPMs? Table 3-6 reports on the results of an ANOVA test applied to responses to the question: Which SPMs are you most knowledgeable about or familiar with? Only three of the SPMs show significant inter-state differences in this table. There are differences across the states in the level of knowledge regarding student testing, school governance, and curriculum materials. Looking back

TABLE 3-5. Univariate Tests of Inter-State Differences in Belief that SPMs Need Greater Attention by State Policy Makers

POLICY MECHANISM	MEAN	SD	F	SIG
Personnel	0.362	0.603	0.601	0.700
School Finance	0.283	0.527	5.461	0.000**
Organization/Governance	0.261	0.596	4.031	0.002**
Buildings/Facilities	0.261	0.583	3.456	0.006**
Curric. Materials	0.203	0.556	0.401	0.868
Program Definition	0.130	0.602	0.285	0.921
Student Testing	0.043	0.671	4.371	0.001**

** probability less than .01.

at the F-statistics in Table 3-4, it can be seen that these are three of the four SPMs that are reportedly receiving the most sharply divergent levels of attention. Only building policies have a larger F-statistic in Table 3-4 (indicating an even sharper divergence across states in the amount of attention being given to this policy domain. Since our sample is rather modest in size, and drawn to be informative rather than strictly representative, we should be cautious in attaching great significance to the differences shown in Table 3-6. As described more fully below, however, these differences do illuminate some important ways in which states deal in different ways with school policy questions.

Insert Table 3-6 about here.

Multivariate tests of state differences

Table 3-7 presents the first of a series of multiple discriminant analyses (MDA) of differences between respondents when they are grouped by state. This table reports the results of MDA of the amount of attention being given in each of the sample states to the seven basic SPMs. Though interpretation is a bit complicated, MDA provides the most powerful tool available for summarizing major differences between the six states in our sample.

Insert Table 3-7 about here.

TABLE 3-6. Univariate Tests of Inter-State Differences in Levels of Knowledgeability Regarding State Policy Mechanisms

POLICY MECHANISM	MEAN	SD	F	SIG
School Finance	0.786	0.412	0.605	0.696
Personnel	0.550	0.499	1.578	0.170
Student Testing	0.486	0.502	3.573	0.005**
Program Definition	0.464	0.501	2.014	0.081
Organization/Governance	0.400	0.492	2.649	0.026*
Buildings/Facilities	0.186	0.390	1.992	0.084*
Curric. Materials	0.171	0.378	2.508	0.033*

Variance of means (.039) is 15.9% of variance of average individual.

TABLE 3-7. Multiple Discriminant Analysis of Rankings
on Levels of Attention Given to Each of the Seven SPMs
Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

POLICY MECHANISM	FUNC #1	FUNC #2	FUNC #3
	R=.75,p=.00	R=.54,p=.00	R=.39,p=.00
	X =188.6,df=35	X =79.6,df=24	X =34.3,df=15
Student Testing	0.79*	0.10	-0.18
Buildings/Facilities	-0.69*	-0.18	-0.28
Curric. Materials	0.11	-0.69*	-0.27
Organization/Governance	-0.24	0.61*	-0.02
Program Definition	0.01	0.29	-0.20
School Finance	-0.12	0.15	-0.04
Personnel	0.16	-0.06	0.94*

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2	FUNC #3
Arizona	-0.54	0.37	-0.61
California	0.42	0.59	-0.13
Illinois	0.75	-1.32	-0.23
Pennsylvania	-0.94	0.15	0.30
West Virginia	2.35	0.51	0.34
Wisconsin	-1.05	-0.23	0.50

GROUP MEANS

STATE	FIN	PERS	TSTNG	PRGM	GOV	CURR	BLDG
AZ	1.917	2.383	3.083	3.817	5.417	4.850	6.533
CA	1.000	3.324	3.912	3.971	5.706	4.647	5.441
IL	1.182	3.318	3.909	3.045	3.773	6.545	5.591
PA	1.704	3.426	2.259	3.593	5.537	5.019	6.352
WV	1.556	4.222	5.472	3.639	4.556	4.833	3.722
WI	1.674	3.848	2.500	3.130	5.087	4.717	6.848
TOTAL	1.555	3.343	3.372	3.529	5.044	5.106	5.894

The first step in interpreting multiple discriminant analysis is to look at the canonical correlation (R) for each of the reported discriminant functions and the associated probability (p-value) indicating whether the canonical correlations are significant. The square of each canonical correlation is an estimate of the amount of variance in the data set that contributes to successful discrimination among respondents from each of the several states. Thus, for example, in Table 3-7 the first discriminant function has a canonical R of .75 with a highly significant p-value (virtually 0.00). This means that this function accounts for approximately 56% of the variations in group membership of the respondents (an extraordinarily high level of explained variance when using only seven predictor variables on a sample of 140 respondents).

Once it is determined that a discriminant function is successful in significantly separating groups of respondents, it becomes appropriate to begin interpreting its substantive meaning. This is done by using both the standardized discriminant function coefficients (shown in the top portion of each table) and the group centroids (shown in the middle portion of the tables). The large coefficients in the first function found in Table 3-7 are those associated with student testing (0.79) and building and facilities (-0.69) policies. Since these coefficients have opposite signs, respondents from the various states who viewed one of the two SPMs as prominent tended to view the other one as receiving less attention within their state. The group centroids (in the middle portion of the table) show which state was most likely to be represented in these competing views. Respondents from West Virginia with a centroid of 2.35 held the most dramatic position on this discriminant function. They gave small scores (i.e. tended to rank as quite prominent) the building and facilities policy domain while giving relatively large scores (indicating a lower rank) to student testing policy. This can be easily confirmed by looking at the mean scores for each state's respondents shown at the bottom of Table 3-7. West Virginia gave the building and facilities SPM an average rank of 3.722 (more than two full ranks above the 5.894 average for all respondents), and gave student testing policy a rank of 5.472 (well below the 3.372 average rank for all respondents). Looking back at the group centroids in the middle of the table, we see that West Virginia respondents contrasted in their views most sharply with those in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania who had group centroids of -1.05 and -0.94 respectively.

In sum, the first discriminant function in Table 3-7 supports:

MDA Finding #1. West Virginia policy makers are especially concerned about school building and facilities policies, and relatively unconcerned about student testing issues.

This finding is fully confirmed by field interviews in the state. A recent court case in that state, which found inequality of educational opportunity to be directly tied to inequities in access to adequate school facilities and mandated significant new school facilities development, was repeatedly identified as the most important recent school policy event in the state (Pauley v. Bailey 324 S.E.2d 128, 1984).

The second MDF shown in Table 3-7 is also highly significant (with a canonical correlation of .54, it accounts for 29% of the response variance). Two of the seven SPMs account for most of the explanatory power of this function: curriculum materials and school organization/ governance. The state centroids and pattern of mean scores indicate that:

MDA Finding #2: Illinois respondents have the most unique view on these two SPMs -- they are most concerned with governance questions and least concerned with curriculum materials issues.

This focus on governance issues in Illinois has been recently manifested in controversy over reorganization of the office of the state superintendent of public instruction (from an elected to an appointed office) and a hard fought collective bargaining statute for teachers. Governance issues have had a long history of importance in Illinois, however, because traditional tensions between the city of Chicago and "downstate" interests have produced a labyrinthine dual governance system for most public services in the state.

Contrasts among the six states in the sample can be seen clearly in Figure 3-1 which is a plot of the state centroids on the first two discriminant functions in Table 3-7. West Virginia and Illinois are visibly the "outliers" on these two discriminant functions. West Virginians, with their traditional reluctance to provide substantial funding or state level direction to education have been dramatically affected by Judge Recht's decision in the Pauley v. Bailey case. They have responded to this court mandates by giving unusually intense attention to building facilities and curriculum materials policy issues, while giving commensurately less attention to student testing and governance matters. Illinois, much less concerned about these issues, gives more attention than any other state to problems of governance.

Insert Figure 3-1 about here.

California shares with West Virginia a higher than average interest in curriculum and building issues. Indeed, as suggested in Figure 3-1, California policy makers reported the highest level of attention to curriculum matters (though still ranking this SPM fifth, giving it a modest mean ranking of 4.647).

The third MDF shown in Table 3-7 is also highly significant and accounts for about 15% of the respondent variance. Only one of the seven SPMs (school personnel policies) provides most of the explanatory power for this MDF. As seen in the centroid scores:

MDA Finding #4: Arizona policy makers gave the highest ranking to personnel policies.

They gave a mean score of 2.38 to the personnel training and certification SPM -- more than a full rank higher than any other state. West Virginia and Wisconsin occupy the other extreme, giving personnel questions a relatively low ranking. Arizona's interest in personnel matters is easily seen in our field interviews. This state has recently adopted merit pay, career ladders, teacher evaluation, and staff development reforms -- all

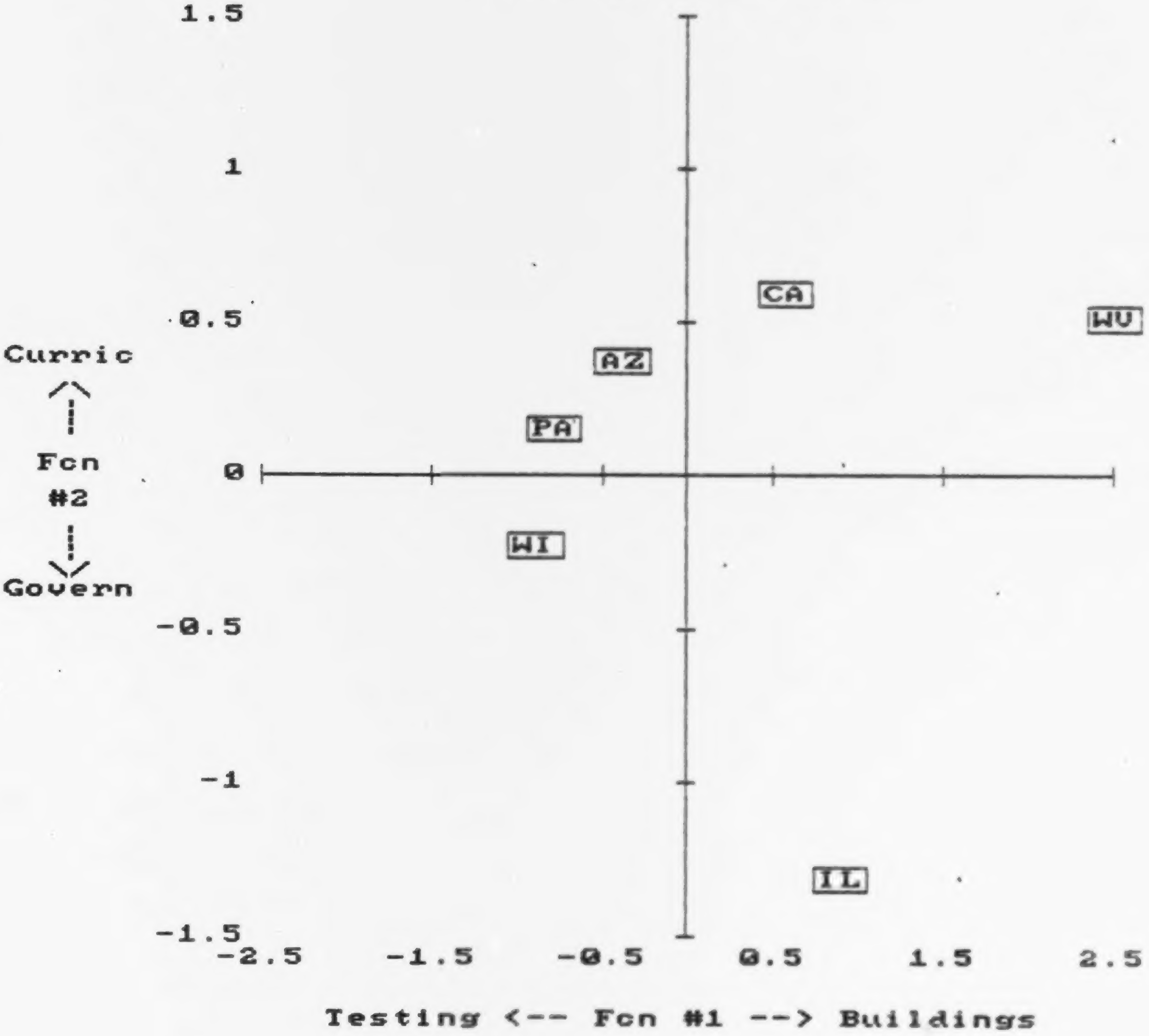


Fig. 3-1. Discriminant Centroids
Ranking of All SPMs

accompanied by highly visible public debate over how best to improve teacher and administrative training and performance.

Figure 3-2 is a plot of the state centroid scores on Functions #1 and #3 from Table 3-7. It graphically reveals the extent to which West Virginia, Arizona and Wisconsin are the farthest from each other along these two dimensions. Wisconsin and West Virginia, while dividing on the question of testing versus building and facilities, both give personnel policies low ranking compared to Arizona.

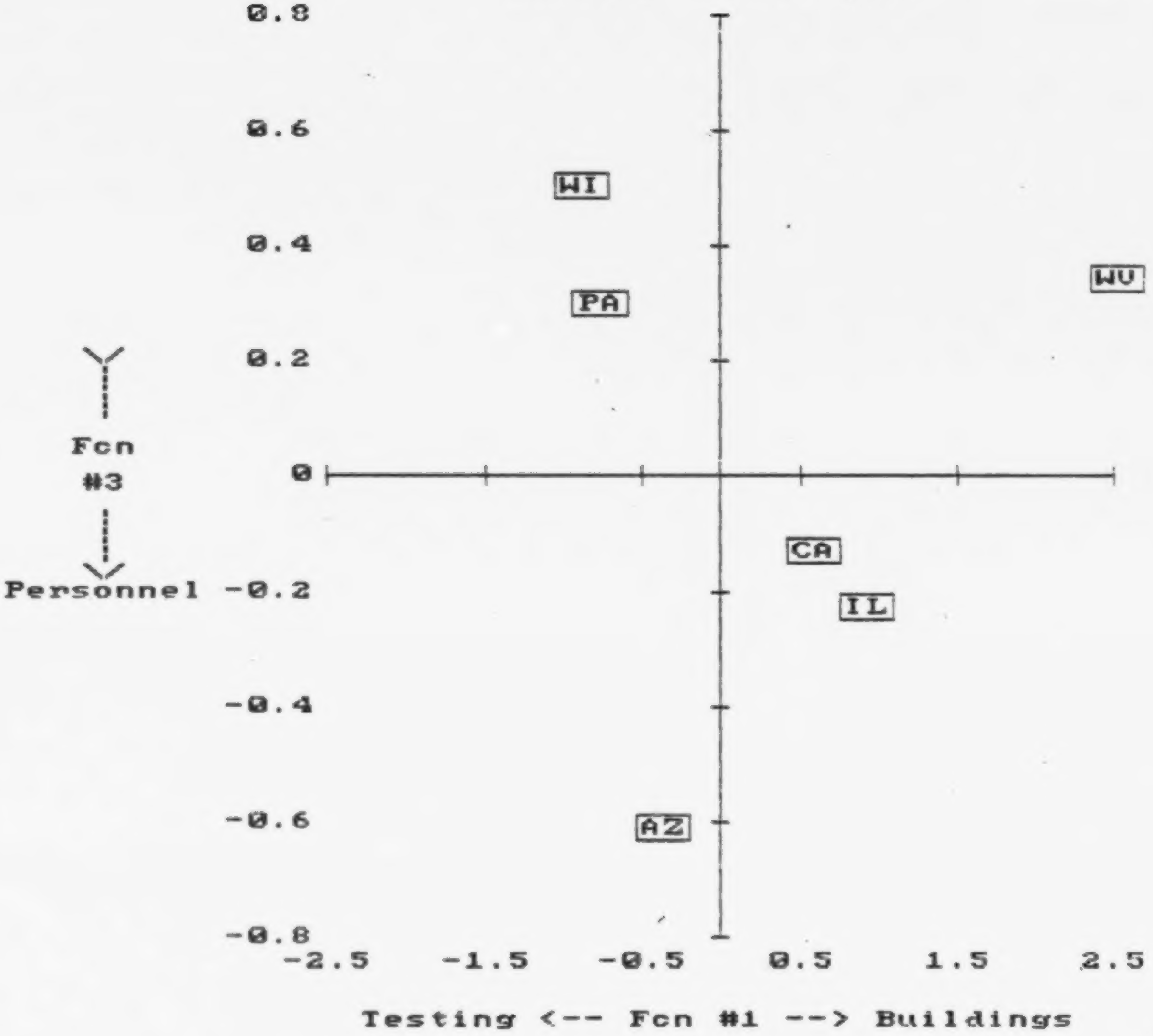
Insert Figure 3-2 about here.

Figure 3-3 presents a simultaneous plot of the state centroids on Functions #2 and #3. As described above, it is clear from this figure that Illinois is an outlier in regard to the organization and governance policy mechanism.

Insert Figure 3-3 about here.

Having compared how the respondents ranked the level of attention actually being given to each of the seven SPMs under study, we turn to a comparative analysis of their views regarding whether too much or too little state level attention is being given to the various SPMs. A multiple discriminant analysis of responses to this question is shown in Table 3-8. As indicated at the top of the table, the first two MDFs are highly significant, accounting

Fig. 3-2. Discriminant Centroids
Ranking of All SPMs



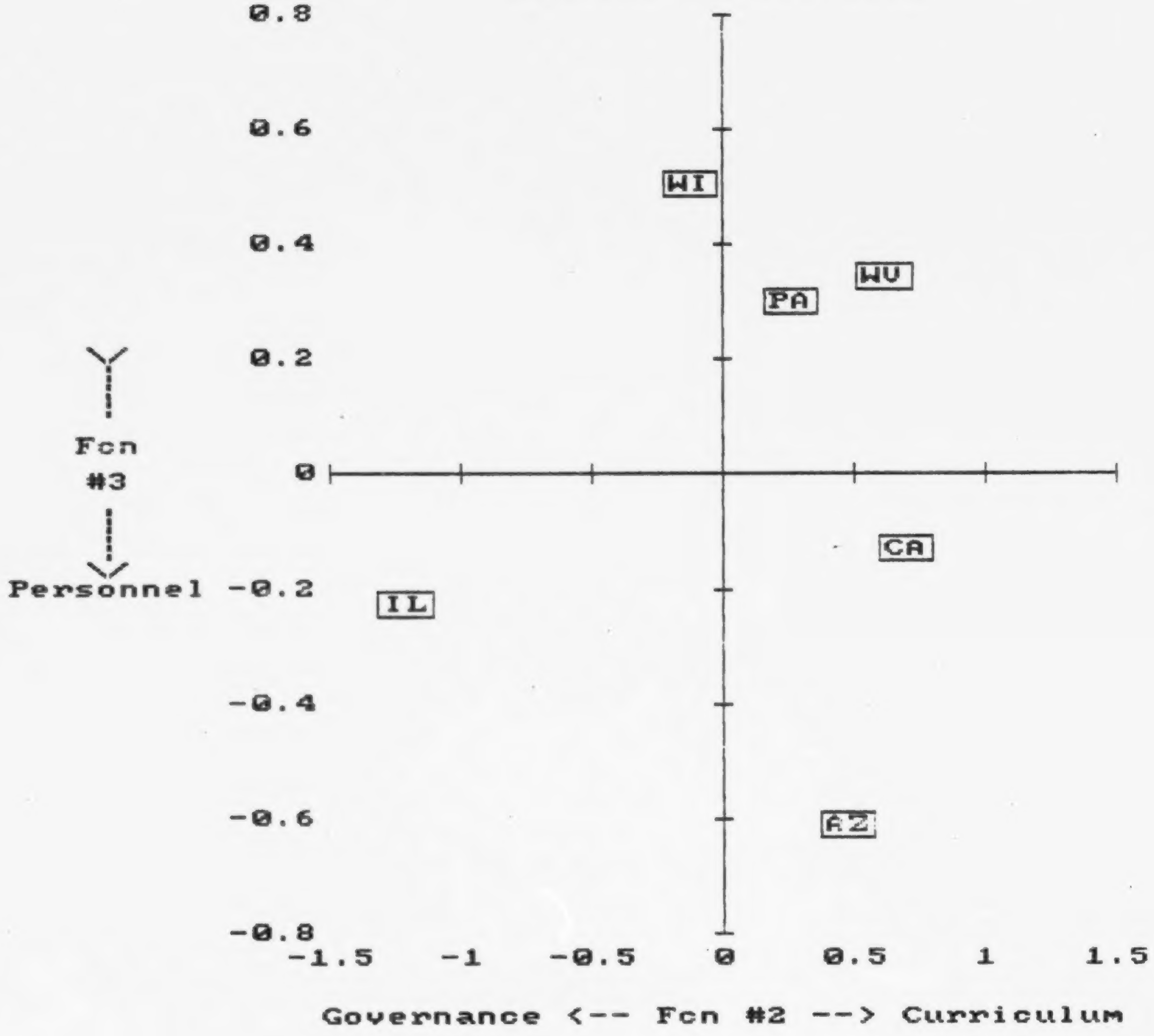


Fig. 3-3. Discriminant Centroids
Ranking of All SPMs

respectively for 21% and 16% of the response variance. The third function, accounting for just under 12% of the response variance, has a p-value of .10 indicating that we can be only 90% sure that it is not the result of sampling error. Hence we should interpret this third function with extreme caution and accept its findings only if they are corroborated by other data.

Insert Table 3-8 about here.

Before looking at the discriminant functions, note that averaging the mean scores for each SPM for the six sample states provides an overall measure of the extent to which policy makers in each state believe that state control over education should be increased. The average for all states is positive, but they differ substantially:

State	Mean Score for all SPMs
AZ	.095
PA	.218
WI	.220
CA	.243
WV	.278
IL	.317
Six State Average	.220

This profile of mean scores support:

MDA Finding #5: Arizona respondents showed the least inclination to increase state level control over school policy. Illinois and

TABLE 3-8. Multiple Discriminant Analysis of Beliefs that More Attention Should Be Given by State Policy Makers to Each SPM

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

POLICY MECHANISM	FUNC #1 R=.46,p=.00 X =76.5,df=35	FUNC #2 R=.40,p=.01 X =45.1,df=24	FUNC #3 R=.34,p=.10 X =22.1,df=15
Organization/Governance	0.68*	-0.22	0.10
School Finance	-0.23	0.88*	0.03
Personnel	0.18	0.19	0.06
Program Definition	0.10	-0.11	0.06
Curriculum Materials	-0.01	-0.08	-0.07
Buildings/Facilities	-0.38	-0.16	0.80*
Student Testing	0.54*	0.46*	0.57*

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2	FUNC #3
Arizona	-0.34	-0.22	-0.46
California	0.22	-0.92	0.47
Illinois	0.96	0.38	0.04
Pennsylvania	-0.42	0.17	0.35
West Virginia	-0.52	0.53	0.21
Wisconsin	0.19	-0.04	-0.32

GROUP MEANS

STATE	FIN	PERS	TSTNG	PRGM	GOV	CURR	BLDG
AZ	0.233	0.233	-0.367	0.067	0.167	0.167	0.167
CA	-0.118	0.294	0.000	0.235	0.529	0.235	0.529
IL	0.348	0.478	0.478	0.130	0.609	0.130	0.043
PA	0.366	0.360	0.120	0.080	0.000	0.160	0.440
WV	0.632	0.363	0.053	0.105	0.105	0.211	0.474
WI	0.208	0.458	0.042	0.208	0.250	0.333	0.042
TOTAL	0.283	0.362	0.043	0.130	0.261	0.203	0.261

West Virginia decision makers displayed the greatest interest in more centralized policy making.

Arizonans uniquely believe that less state level attention should be given to issues of student testing and assessment. The high overall mean scores for Illinois and West Virginia resulted from very different specific interests. Illinois respondents were particularly interested in giving more attention to governance issues, West Virginians to school finance.

A close look at the discriminant function coefficients in the top part of Table 3-8 shows that the student testing SPM makes a substantial contribution to all three of the significant functions. This would make respondent views on this SPM hard to interpret if it were not for the very clear pattern of mean scores found in the bottom section of the table. These means clearly indicate that:

MDA Finding #6: Concern over state level attention to testing policy plays a role in all of the statistically significant discriminations among the states -- this SPM has the widest range of expressed desires for greater attention. Illinois policy makers show the greatest interest in increased state attention in this domain.

As indicated by the function coefficients, the first MDF in Table 3-8 reflects a desire for increased state level attention to both governance and student testing policies. The second MDF interprets combined interest in school finance and student testing. The group centroids for the six states on these two functions are plotted in Figure 3-4. Note that Illinois, California and West Virginia are the outliers on this graph. Illinois is in the upper right quadrant of the graph because:

MDA Finding #7: Illinois respondents display the greatest interest in increased attention to both student testing and school governance questions.

Insert Figure 3-4 about here.

The California centroid is at the bottom of the figure because:

MDA Finding #8: California respondents are the only ones to reject increased state attention to school finance. Incidentally, they also have a strong interest in increasing attention to school governance and building policies.

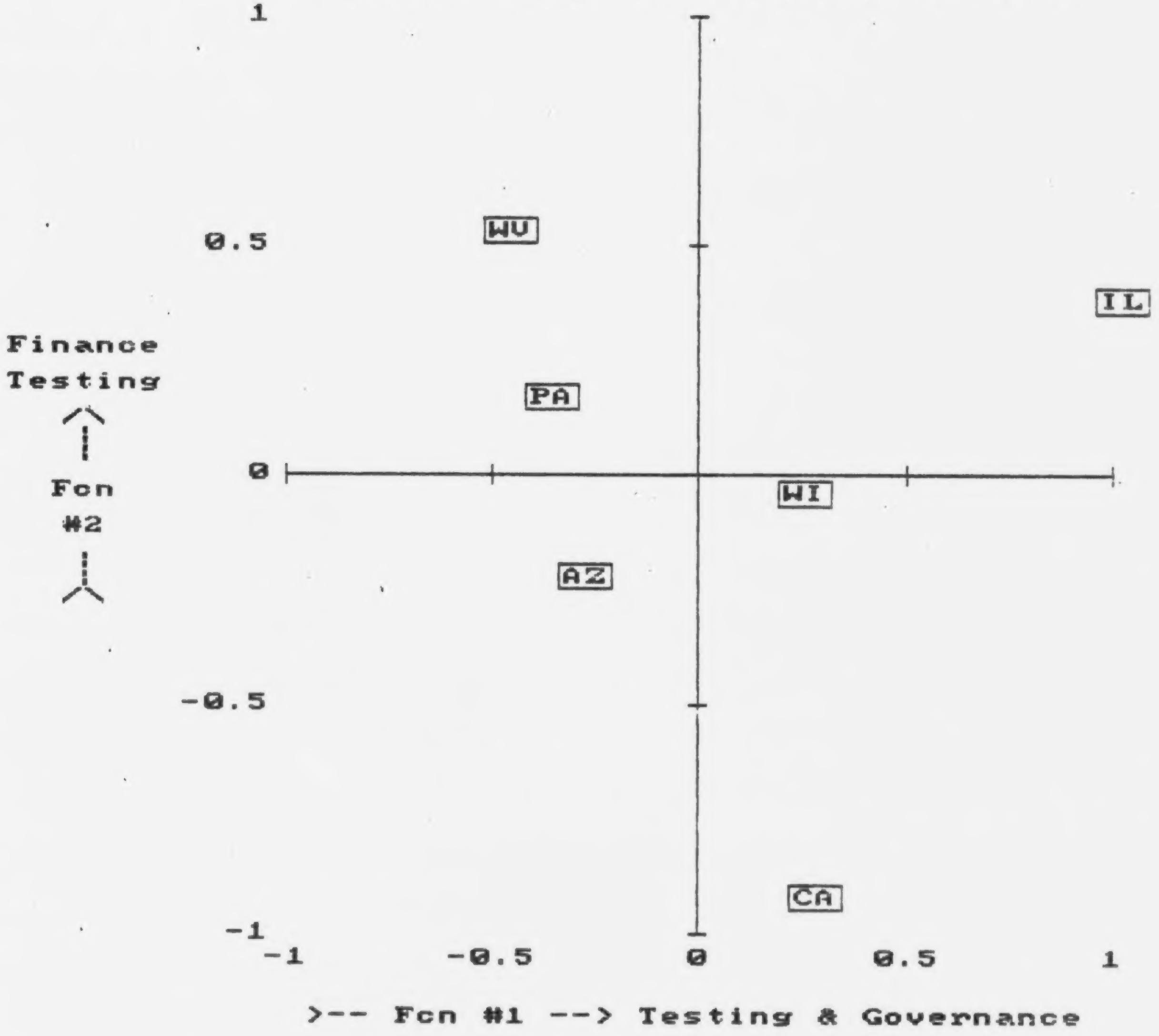
Finally, the West Virginia centroid has the extreme scores in the upper left quadrant of Figure 3-4 because:

MDA Finding #9: West Virginians see the greatest need for increased attention to school finance, and have a low level of interest in focusing greater state attention on either governance or testing matters.

To the extent that function #3 in on Table 3-8 produces a reliable discrimination among the sample states, it shows that school building policies are thought to need much greater attention in California, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, but not in Arizona or Wisconsin.

As shown in Table 3-9, there were only two significant discriminant functions separating the sample states on the question

Fig. 3-4. Discriminant Centroids
Desired Level of Attention to SPMs



of which SPMs respondents felt most knowledgeable about. The first discriminant function, accounting for about 19% of respondent variance, indicates that those who were most knowledgeable about the student testing domain tended not to feel knowledgeable about either governance or school building matters.

Insert Table 3-9 about here.

The second function, accounting for about 17% of respondent variance, indicates that familiarity with curriculum materials issues was accompanied by knowledge about program definition but not the personnel SPM. The state centroids shown in the middle of Table 3-9 are plotted on the graph shown in Figure 3-5. This pattern of centroids indicates that:

MDA Finding #10: Wisconsin respondents felt the most knowledgeable about testing issues; they felt least well equipped to discuss school building or governance questions.

Insert Figure 3-5 about here.

MDA Finding #11: West Virginia respondents were most comfortable with school program and curriculum issues; they felt least knowledgeable about the student testing SPM.

MDA Finding #12: Arizona respondents, reflecting their recent work on these issues, felt most knowledgeable about the personnel SPM and were least familiar with program definition matters.

TABLE 3-9. Multiple Discriminant Analysis of Self-Expressed Knowledgeability Regarding the Seven State Policy Mechanisms

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

POLICY MECHANISM	FUNC #1 R=.44,p=.001 X =65.8,df=35	FUNC #2 R=.41,p=.035 X =37.9,df=24
Student Testing	0.64*	-0.36*
Organization/Governance	-0.54*	-0.18
Buildings/Facilities	-0.40*	0.38*
School Finance	0.14	-0.07
Curriculum Materials	0.22	0.61*
Program Definition	-0.01	0.52*
Personnel	0.10	-0.49*

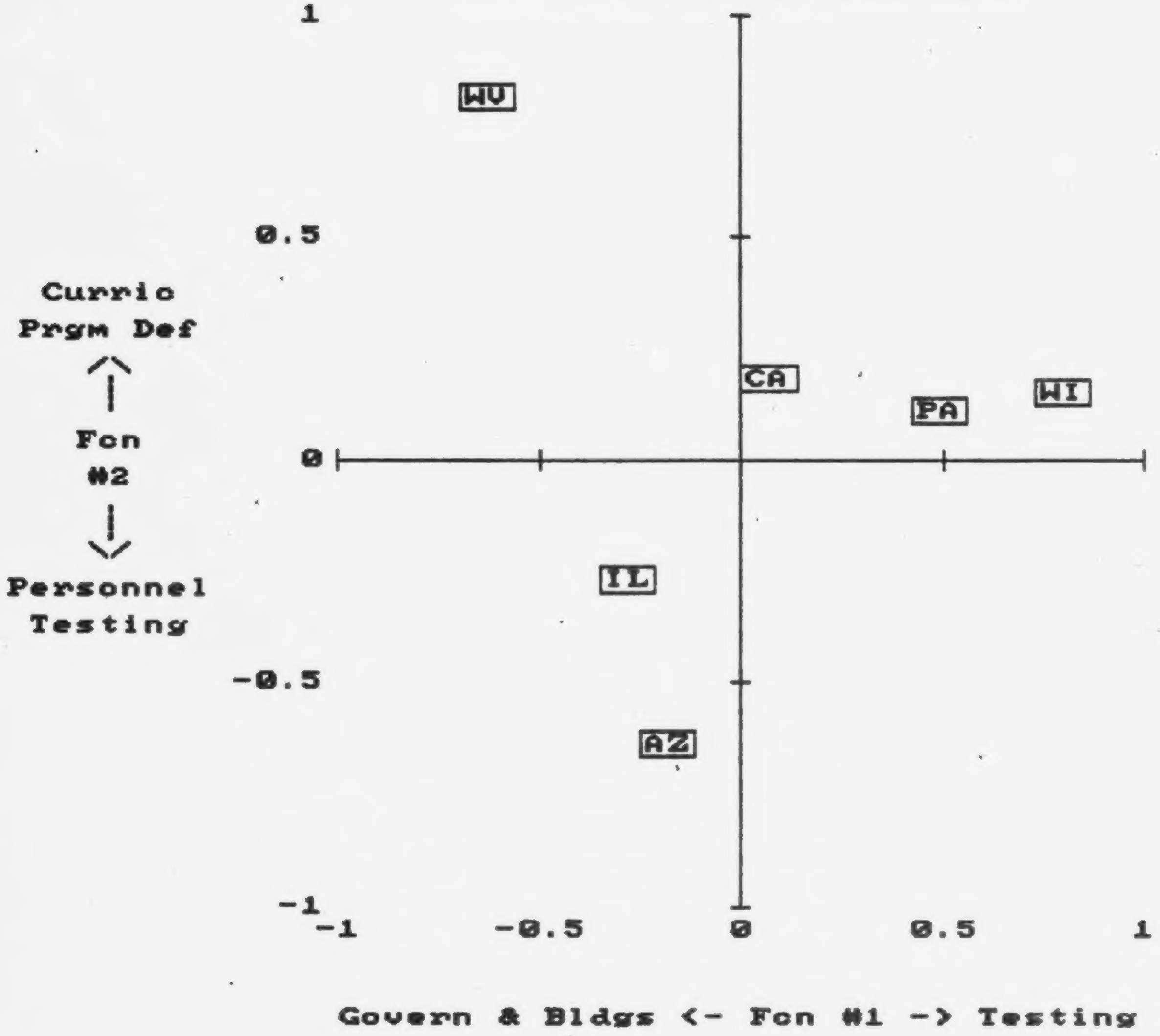
CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2
Arizona	-0.25	-0.64
California	-0.00	0.18
Illinois	-0.35	-0.27
Pennsylvania	0.42	0.11
West Virginia	-0.70	0.81
Wisconsin	0.73	0.15

GROUP MEANS

STATE	FIN	PERS	TSTNG	PRGM	GOV	CURR	BLDG
AZ	0.733	0.700	0.567	0.233	0.500	0.033	0.167
CA	0.824	0.588	0.412	0.529	0.235	0.176	0.235
IL	0.870	0.652	0.348	0.522	0.565	0.043	0.130
PA	0.778	0.444	0.630	0.444	0.370	0.259	0.148
WV	0.684	0.368	0.158	0.632	0.526	0.316	0.421
WI	0.833	0.500	0.667	0.542	0.167	0.250	0.083
TOTAL	0.786	0.550	0.486	0.464	0.400	0.171	0.186

Fig. 3-5. Discriminant Centroids
Knowledge of Various SPMs



The other three states have less strong views that Wisconsin, West Virginia and Arizona.

Conclusion

The responses of 140 key policy actors in six states to the questions: 1) How much attention is given to each of the seven basic SPMs in your state? 2) Should state level policy makers be giving more (or less) attention than they do now to each policy domain? And, 3) which of the seven SPMs do you feel most knowledgeable about? were reviewed in this chapter. The data indicate that there is both a strong underlying national consensus about the relative importance of the various policy mechanisms and sharp differences among the states in the amount of attention actually being focused on each of them. Moreover, policy makers have systematically divergent views about how much attention the state should give to each SPM. Differences in the degree to which policy makers feel knowledgeable about a policy mechanism are closely associated with their perception that the policy has been receiving significant attention within their own state policy system.

Having noted that policy interests vary from state to state, we turn in the next chapter to ascertaining whether the states adopt a characteristic approach to various policy mechanisms.

CHAPTER IV

COMPETING APPROACHES TO THE SEVEN ALTERNATIVE STATE POLICY MECHANISMS

The last chapter described in broad strokes how state policy makers perceive seven basic state policy mechanisms for shaping school programs and practices. We noted the existence of a national education policy perspective, shared broadly by key actors in all of our sample states, which gives prominence to fiscal policy mechanisms while giving school building and curriculum materials issues much lower levels of attention. We further noted that, on the average, state policy makers believe that they should be giving substantially more attention to all education policy domains.

We turn in this chapter to a more detailed look at competing approaches to state policy making within each of the seven broad domains already described. Data for this analysis was gathered by asking respondents in each state indicate which of several alternative approaches were receiving the most attention by policy makers within their state. The alternative approaches which they were asked to characterize were identified from first round interviews with policy makers in each state. The number of alternatives presented for comment and analysis varied across the seven basic SPMs. Only three approaches were identified in the area of curriculum materials development and selection (Specification of the scope and sequence of the core materials to be used in local districts, development of specialized instructional materials for particular purposes, and mandating local use of materials selected or developed by state agencies). Either four or five alternatives were identified in each of the other domains, except for school organization and governance which was clearly the most complex of the basic SPMs with eight competing approaches: 1) increasing or 2) redistributing state level powers, 3) strengthening teachers, 4) increasing administrative control, 5) strengthening site level authority, 6) expanding citizen influence, 7) altering local district roles and responsibilities, and 8) specifying student rights and responsibilities.

Tables 4-1 through 4-7 identify the specific approaches to each SPM which were presented to respondents. Each approach is described more fully and illustrated with specific examples on the interview instrument shown in Appendix A. In each case, respondents were asked to rank order the alternative approaches (responses were given a score of 1 to the approach perceived to be getting the most attention and larger scores to those getting less attention during the last two or three years). Where respondents were unable or unwilling to give alternative approaches different ranks each was given the average score for the ranks covered. Typically, respondents did not rank the alternative approaches to all seven SPMs. Rather, each informant was first asked to report on the three SPMs about which he/she felt most knowledgeable. If interview time permitted, respondents were then asked to rank the approaches with which they were less familiar. The number of respondents evaluating each SPM ranged from a low of 38 who evaluated school building policies to a high of 118 who were prepared to rank alternative approaches to school finance. The average respondent provided data on about 3.5 SPMs -- an average of about 68 respondents per SPM.

As with the data analysis presented in the last chapter, we will review the data on competing approaches to each policy mechanism in two steps. First, the level and meaning of overall agreement among all respondents who responded to the same SPM will be described. Once again, this agreement reflects what might be thought of as a "national perspective" on how best to handle each policy domain. Following the discussion of agreement among respondents, we will examine in detail the differences among them -- indicating how states differ in their approach to each policy arena and elaborating on what other field data tells us about why the various states take the approaches that they do.

We should reiterate that the sample size is quite small in each policy domain, and that the sample was selected to be representative of the most active and informed members of each state's decision making elite. There are, no doubt, important sampling biases in this procedure. As a result, our findings should not be construed to reflect the views of a state or even of the average policy maker within each state. Our data describe how the most active and informed members of the policy making elite at the time of our study, and will apply to current actors in these or other states only to the extent that the key actors we interviewed represent those who are currently occupying positions of influence and authority. While this limitation is both real and important, our primary interest lies not in predicting how any particular state can or will act on these matters -- reading newspapers, journals and ongoing policy documents within each state, and conducting open ended interviews with those who are key actors today is the best way to go about that important task. Our interest is more basic, we are seeking to show what the underlying structure of policy alternatives looks like and how these alternatives come to be valued and incorporated into specific policy decisions.

Approaches to School Finance. As a group respondents from the six sample states agreed that school finance is dominated by a concern with equalizing financial support for all children. This is followed very closely, however, by a concern with fixing the total amount of money spent on education in the state. A significant gap (as measured by a paired t-test of the means) separates these two approaches from the third one, targeting funds on populations with special needs. Another statistical gap separates this approach from the two finance approaches ranked last -- offsetting burdensome costs to school districts with special financial hardships and financing specific school functions, such as transportation, textbook acquisition, or building programs.

Insert Table 4-1 about here.

Table 4-1. RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO FINANCE POLICY

(All Respondents, N = 118)

Finance Approach	Mean	
Equalizing Amount per Child	2.191	¦
Fixing Total Amount Spent	2.322	¦
		gap
Targeting on Special Groups	2.945	
		gap
Offsetting Burdensome Costs	3.699	¦
Financing Particular Functions	3.873	¦

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

Total variance in the mean scores is .4734 which is 24% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 5 ranking for the five approaches.

While there was substantial agreement among respondents regarding the relative importance of these various approaches to finance policy, the agreement was less dramatic than that expressed in their ranking of the relative importance of the seven SPMs reported in the last chapter. Only 22% of the variance is shared across the respondent sample compared to the 47% shared variance in ranking the relative amount attention given to all seven SPMs.

Approaches to Personnel Policy. Eighty respondents ranked alternative approaches to school personnel policy. To a substantial degree they agreed that the four alternatives we had identified were ranked as shown in Table 4-2. Pre-service certification and training issues were ranked as most important, professional development and accountability system development were ranked about equally, and issues of changing teacher job definitions were clearly seen as the least frequent expression of this SPM. Variance in the group mean scores for the 80 respondents evaluating this SPM indicates that they agreed with one another about 22% of the time across all states.

Insert Table 4-2 about here.

Table 4-2. RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO PERSONNEL POLICY

(All Respondents, N = 82)

Personnel Approach	Mean	
Pre-Service Certification/Training	1.787	
		gap
Professional Development	2.305	¦
Accountability Systems	2.683	¦
		gap
Changing Teacher Job Definitions	3.238	

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

Total variance in the mean scores is .2812 which is 23% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 4 ranking for the four approaches.

Approaches to Student Testing and Assessment. Five alternative approaches to student testing and assessment policy were identified from the analysis of preliminary interviews and documents. Seventy respondents told us about the relative amount of attention given to each of these five testing policy options in their respective states. As shown in Table 4-3, these respondents strongly agreed that specifying the form or content of test instruments is the most frequently used approach to this policy domain. Measuring non-academic outcomes of student learning activities was ranked last. The use of testing programs to evaluate teachers or school programs was ranked next to last by these respondents, but our interview notes suggest that this approach is definitely on the upswing in several states. Indeed, as shown on Table 4-3, California respondents ranked this approach second in that state.

As indicated on Table 4-3, a whopping 40% of the average individual variance is found in the aggregate mean scores for the 70 respondents dealing with this SPM.

Insert Table 4-3 about here.

Alternative Approaches to Program Definition Policy. As shown in Table 4-4, 76 respondents ranked four alternative approaches to school program definition being worked on in their respective states. They agreed overwhelmingly that setting higher program standards is the number one approach to dealing with this policy

Table 4-3. RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO TESTING POLICY

(All Respondents, N = 70)

Testing Approach	Mean	
Specifying Test Format or Content	1.464	
		gap
Using Tests for Student Placement	2.736	
		¦
Mandating Local Test Development	3.050	
		gap
Using Tests to Evaluate Tchrs/Prgms	3.586	
		gap
Measuring Non-Academic Outcomes	4.121	

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

Total variance in the mean scores is .6059 which is 40% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 5 ranking for the five approaches.

domain. The other three approaches (mandating particular subjects, developing programs for special groups of students, and changing time requirements) were ranked well behind the standard setting approach. The group mean scores for this SPM contain 34% of the variance of the average respondent an amount that was second only to the 40% shared variance in testing policy.

Insert Table 4-4 about here.

Alternative Approaches to School Governance. As shown in Table 4-5, 63 respondents were asked to rank eight different approaches to school organization and governance. While, as described below in relation to Tables 4-7 and 4-10, there were significant differences among the six states, there was little agreement among the respondents about common governance themes that carry across state boundaries. Only 2% of the individual variance was found in the group means for this SPM, by far the lowest level of agreement on any of the seven basic SPMs. While increasing state level control at the expense of local education agencies was ranked first, and altering the roles of local districts was ranked eighth, the differences were not statistically significant. From our interview notes, it appears likely that the lack of inter-state agreement on this SPM is, to a substantial degree at least, the result of measurement error rather than lack of substantive similarities in state level governance policy. We found too often

Table 4-4. RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO PROGRAM DEFINITION

(All Respondents, N = 77)

Program Definition Approach	Mean	
Setting Higher Standards	1.409	
Mandating Particular Subjects	2.675	gap
Developing Prgms for Special Groups	2.916	¦
Changing Time Requirements (Day/Year)	3.078	¦

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

Total variance in the mean scores is .4315 which is 35% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 4 ranking for the four approaches.

that we had to explain to our respondents what was meant by the various approaches they were asked to rank, and we suspect that different respondents may have been using different meaning systems in applying the approaches to events within their own state policy systems.

Insert Table 4-5 about here.

Alternative approaches to Curriculum Materials Policy. As shown in Table 4-6, the 39 respondents who reported on the three identified approaches to curriculum materials policy were in substantial agreement (with 30% shared variance between individual responses and the overall group mean). Specifying the scope and sequence of school curricula was well ahead of developing specialized materials for special purposes and mandating local use of particular materials as the most common approach to curriculum materials policy in the six states we studied. Some caution must be used in interpreting the data on this SPM, however, because we have no respondents in Illinois that ranked these approaches for that state (see Table 4-14).

Insert Table 4-6 about here.

Table 4-5. RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

(All Respondents, N = 52)

Organization/Governance Approach	Mean
Increasing State Level Control	3.933
Redistributing Power at State Level	4.019
Strengthening Teacher Influence	4.154
Strengthening Administrative Control	4.452
Increasing Site Level Control	4.577
Expanding Citizen Influence	4.856
Altering Role of Local Districts	5.019
Specifying Student Rghts/Respsblties	5.096

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. There were no significant differences between mean scores on the alternative approaches to this State Policy Mechanism.

Total variance in the mean scores is .1933 which is 4% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 8 ranking for the eight approaches.

Table 4-6. RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO CURRICULUM MATERIALS

(All Respondents, N = 39)

Curriculum Materials Approach	Mean	
Specifying Scope and Sequence of Matls	1.513	
		gap
Developing Specialized Materials	1.885	
		gap
Mandating Local Use of Materials	2.603	

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Means for each approach differed from all others at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

Total variance in the mean scores is .2047 which is 31% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 3 ranking for the three approaches.

Alternative Approaches to School Building Policy. The data shown in Table 4-7 indicate that there was substantial agreement among the 38 respondents who reported on alternative approaches taken to school building and facilities policy making. All agreed that remediation of structural and other building problems was the most common approach in this domain. Technical review of local district building plans and long range planning for state wide building needs were less frequently identified as highly important approaches in this area, but they ranked ahead of the development of new capacities. Overall 31% of the variance of a typical respondent was shared with the total group and reflected in the profile of group means.

Insert Table 4-7 about here.

To summarize, we found substantial agreements among the 140 respondents in our sample regarding both the relative importance of the seven state policy mechanisms under study and the alternative approaches available to state policy makers for pursuing acting within each policy domain. Agreement on the SPMs included about 47% of all individual variances in ranking, despite the fact that individuals were asked to report on six different state policy systems. Agreement on the specific approaches taken within each

Table 4-7. RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO PLANT & FACILITIES

(All Respondents, N = 38)

Plant & Facilities Approach	Mean	
Remediation of Building Problems	1.658	
Technical Review of Plans	2.316	gap
Long Range Planning for Change	2.671	¦
Development of New Capacities	3.355	gap

T-tests of differences between means on all pairs were made. Group means connected by a vertical bar (¦) are not significantly different at the .05 level. "Gap" is entered on the table where group means differ significantly from the next closest group.

Total variance in the mean scores is .3758 which is 30% of the variance of an individual's 1 to 4 ranking for the four approaches.

policy domains was somewhat less dramatic. Shared variance ranged from a low of 2% in the governance area to a high of 40% in the testing domain, with an average shared variance of approximately 26%. During our interviews we were struck by the high level of consensus among respondents that the policy domains and the alternative approaches which we presented to them for ranking represented a fairly complete set of alternative state policy mechanisms and approaches.

Table 4-8 presents the results of one-way ANOVA tests interstate differences on the alternative approaches within each of the seven basic policy domains. A close look at the data on this table reveals highly significant differences between the states on 14 of the 33 specific approaches identified for our respondents. Four additional approaches have interstate differences that nearly meet the traditional probability of less than .05 and could be considered potentially significant. Only in the curriculum materials domain were there no interstate differences in approach rankings.

Insert Table 4-8 about here.

As indicated by the multiple discriminant analysis presented in Table 4-9:

TABLE 4-8. Univariate Tests of Inter-State Differences in Approach to Each of the Seven Basic SPMs

	MEAN	SD	F	SIG.
FINANCE APPROACHES				
Equalizing Amt. per Child	2.191	1.327	6.895	0.000**
Fixing Total Funding	2.322	1.455	3.656	0.004**
Targeting on Groups	2.945	1.062	2.002	0.084
Offsetting High Costs	3.699	1.149	2.216	0.058
Financing Functions	3.873	1.056	3.580	0.005**
PERSONNEL APPROACHES				
Training/Certification	1.787	0.985	2.070	0.078
Prof. Development	2.305	1.027	2.119	0.072
Accountability	2.683	0.977	0.167	0.974
Teacher Job Definition	3.238	0.883	7.496	0.000**
TESTING APPROACHES				
Format & Content of Tests	1.464	0.763	3.865	0.004**
Use for Placement	2.736	0.947	1.724	0.142
Mandate Local Tests	3.050	1.453	4.301	0.002**
Evaluate Tchrs/Prgms	3.586	1.158	1.922	0.103
Measuring Non-Academics	4.121	0.934	5.751	0.000**
PROGRAM DEFINITION				
Set Prgm Standards	1.409	0.720	1.375	0.244
Specify Subjects	2.675	1.063	2.467	0.041*
Prgms for Special Grps	2.916	0.801	1.918	0.102
Change Time Reqs.	3.078	0.980	4.115	0.002**
GOVERNANCE APPROACHES				
Incr. State Power	3.933	2.256	5.384	0.001**
Redistr. State Power	4.019	2.447	1.507	0.206
Strengthen Teachers	4.154	2.211	3.858	0.005**
Incr. Admin. Control	4.452	1.988	1.195	0.327
Strengthen Site Level	4.577	1.989	1.377	0.251
Incr. Citizen Influence	4.856	2.115	1.206	0.321
Alter District Role	5.019	2.463	5.410	0.001**
Student Rights/Resp.	5.096	2.000	2.504	0.044*
CURRIC. MATERIALS				
Specify Scope & Sequence	1.513	0.721	0.830	0.516
Develop Special Matls.	1.885	0.623	1.235	0.315
Mandate Local Use	2.603	0.709	0.713	0.589
BUILDING/FACILITIES				
Remediate Problems	1.658	0.909	1.314	0.283
Technical Review	2.316	0.896	1.106	0.377
Long Range Planning	2.671	0.925	6.815	0.000**
Dev. New Capacities	3.355	0.854	0.531	0.751

MDA Finding #1: Among the very substantial differences in the ways states attend to issues of school finance policy, the contrast between equalization and the establishment of overall funding levels for education is the most prominent.

Insert Table 4-9 about here.

West Virginia, just recently placed under court order, reports that equalization is the number one finance policy priority. California, by contrast, was recently found to have adequately complied with the terms of the Serrano decision on equalization and reports that raising the overall level of funding is the primary thrust of recent finance policy decisions in that state. As indicated by the group centroid scores for the first multiple discriminant function in Table 4-9, and confirmed in the group mean scores at the bottom of the table, the other four states range between the extremes found in West Virginia and California. Wisconsin joins West Virginia in ranking equalization ahead of the problem of setting an overall funding level. The other three states join California respondents in reversing this order. This finding is graphically displayed in Figure 4-1. Note that only West Virginia and Wisconsin are to the right of center on the horizontal axis, indicating positive centroid scores for multiple discriminant function #1. We had expected somewhat greater concern with funding level issues to be report in Arizona; that state has

TABLE 4-9. Multiple Discriminant Analysis of Alternative Approaches to School Finance Policy

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

APPROACH	FUNC #1 R=.53,p=.00 X =72.9,df=25	FUNC #2 R=.41,p=.00 X =36.5,df=16	FUNC #3 R=.33,p=.07 X =15.6,df=9
Equalizing Amt. per Child	-0.795*	0.236	-0.164
Fixing Total Funding	0.618*	0.174	0.078
Financing Functions	0.090	-0.868*	-0.046
Targeting on Groups	-0.045	0.144	0.792*
Offsetting High Costs	0.248	0.365	-0.559*

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2	FUNC #3
Arizona	-0.159	-0.502	0.480
California	-1.082	0.725	0.050
Illinois	-0.171	0.100	-0.309
Pennsylvania	-0.245	-0.227	-0.196
West Virginia	1.036	0.679	0.366
Wisconsin	0.639	-0.203	-0.400

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Equal	Fix Amt	Target	Finance	Offset
AZ	2.077	2.058	3.308	4.288	3.192
CA	3.464	1.571	3.143	3.179	3.643
IL	2.300	2.000	2.825	3.775	4.050
PA	2.500	2.261	2.630	4.000	3.500
WV	1.333	3.467	3.267	3.333	4.000
WI	1.625	2.725	2.575	4.175	4.050
TOTAL	2.191	2.322	2.945	3.873	3.699

passed both constitutional and statutory limits on educational expenditures.

Insert Figure 4-1 about here.

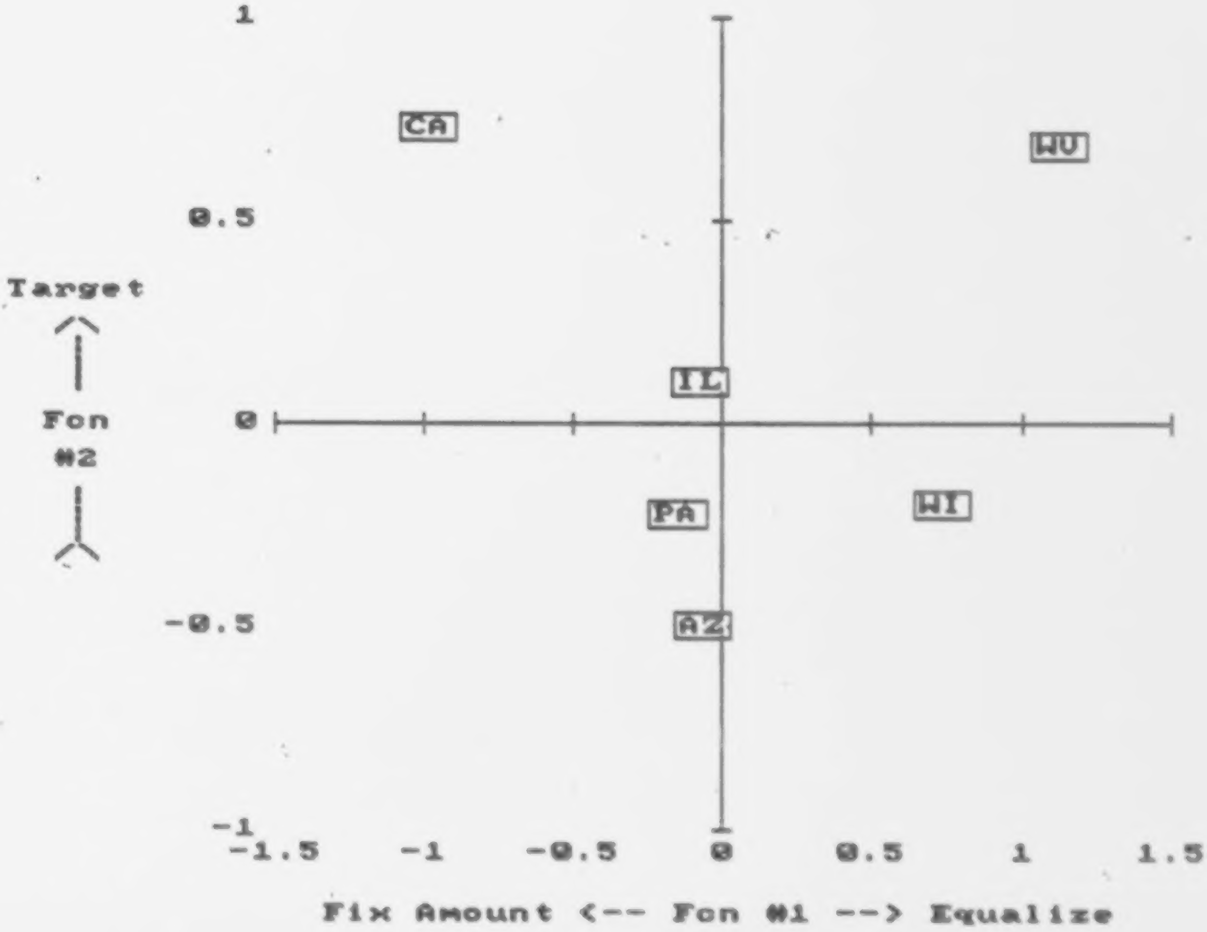
Close behind the differences between states in their attention to the problems of equalization versus overall funding levels is a disagreement over how much attention is being given to the fiscal policy approach we have called "financing." That is,

MDF Finding #2: While no state views this approach as a high priority concern, there are substantial differences in states' willingness to earmark school funds for particular types of services or functions.

California gives this approach third place among the five alternative approaches, Arizona, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania put it last. The California ranking is actually rather lower than our interview data would suggest. This state's 1983 omnibus education bill (SB 813) provided money for a broad array of specific district budget items ranging from textbooks to teacher salaries.

West Virginia joins California in placing the financing approach third. In the West Virginia case, however, top priority is being given to fiscal equalization and to targeting funds on specific student groups. Clearly, West Virginia school finance is dominated by the problems of inequity and disadvantage that dominated school finance policy debates during the 1970s in the larger more

Fig. 4-1. Discriminant Centroids
Alternative Finance Policy Approaches



industrialized states like California, Florida, New Jersey and Texas.

The third discriminant function shown in Table 4-9 is weaker in explanatory power and less statistically reliable than either of the other two. It provides potentially important insight into finance policy debates, however, so we cautiously interpret it here. As indicated by the function coefficients and state centroid scores:

MDF Finding #3: When developing categorical control over fund distribution, states tend to differ over whether the funds should be targeted on particular student populations or used to offset the burdensome costs of associated with particular school operation problems.

Generally, the states are giving greater priority to targeting funds on special student needs. Arizona is an exception, however. Arizona policy makers express the view that state policy is giving more attention to offsetting the extra costs associated with such problems as rural transportation and declining enrollments. We hasten to point out that Arizona has recently adopted a fairly strong bi-lingual education program mandate, and has incorporated extra funds for special education students into their school finance formula. In the first case the policy is not tied directly to categorical funding, however, and since the special education funding is built into the general finance formula it may not be widely recognized as a process of targeting funds on special populations.

Wisconsin and Illinois are at the other end of the policy spectrum. They each give targeting a relatively prominent place in school finance -- Wisconsin policy makers ranked this approach second, behind equalizing.

As can be seen from the special place of the California centroid in Table 4-9, California policy makers have been so deeply involved in the fallout from the infamous Proposition 13 property tax relief referendum in 1978 that they are indifferent to the ranking of all finance policy alternatives save the one concerned with fixing the overall level of school funding. They place this approach more than 1.5 ranks above all other alternatives.

Different Approaches to Personnel Policy. As indicated in Table 4-10, personnel policy differences among the sample states produced one very significant discriminant function, and a second much weaker but still quite suggestive one. Substantively, the first multiple discriminant function is dominated by the amount of attention given to teacher job definition policies (i.e., career ladders, differentiated staffing, mentor teacher programs, etc.). This means that:

MDF Finding #4: While not generally prominent issues, interest in teacher job definition policies vary quite substantially from state to state.

Insert Table 4-10 about here.

TABLE 4-10. Multiple Discriminant Analysis on Alternative Approaches to Personnel Policy

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

APPROACH	FUNC #1 R=.59,p=.00 X =49.8,df=20	FUNC #2 R=.39,p=.14 X =13.3,df=12
Teacher Job Definitions	0.941*	-0.331
Prof. Development	-0.436	-0.360
Training/Certification	-0.242	0.668*
Accountability	-0.010	0.044

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2
Arizona	-0.598	0.225
California	-1.063	-0.192
Illinois	0.434	-0.381
Pennsylvania	0.792	-0.413
West Virginia	1.133	1.036
Wisconsin	0.041	0.014

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Cert	Devel	Acct	Job Def
AZ	2.200	2.440	2.600	2.760
CA	1.600	3.000	2.850	2.550
IL	1.429	2.357	2.571	3.643
PA	1.357	2.071	2.679	3.893
WV	2.000	1.571	2.786	3.786
WI	1.875	2.083	2.792	3.250
TOTAL	1.787	2.305	2.683	3.238

Overall, respondents ranked the job definition approach dead last, well behind the other three approaches they were asked to review. California respondents did not follow this general tendency, however. They reported that job definition policies were second in importance -- exceeded only by issues of training and certification. Arizona respondents were also less inclined to view job definition policies as unimportant. Arizona was unique, however, in its tendency to view all of the teacher policy approaches as about equally important -- with the first place mean of 2.20 for preservice training and certification only .56 ranks above their last place 2.76 for the job definition policy approach. Contrast this with the strong rank order preferences in Pennsylvania where the first place preservice certification policies were ranked a full 2.5 ranks above their last place job definition policy actions. (Recall from the last chapter, however, that Arizona respondents ranked the overall attention level for all personnel policy questions much higher than did the other states).

The second multiple discriminant function shown in Table 4-10, while not a particularly reliable indicator (the p-value is only .14) suggests that:

MDF Finding #5: There is a tendency for states to choose between a pre-service certification and training focus for teacher personnel policy and an emphasis on the professional development and job re-definition approaches.

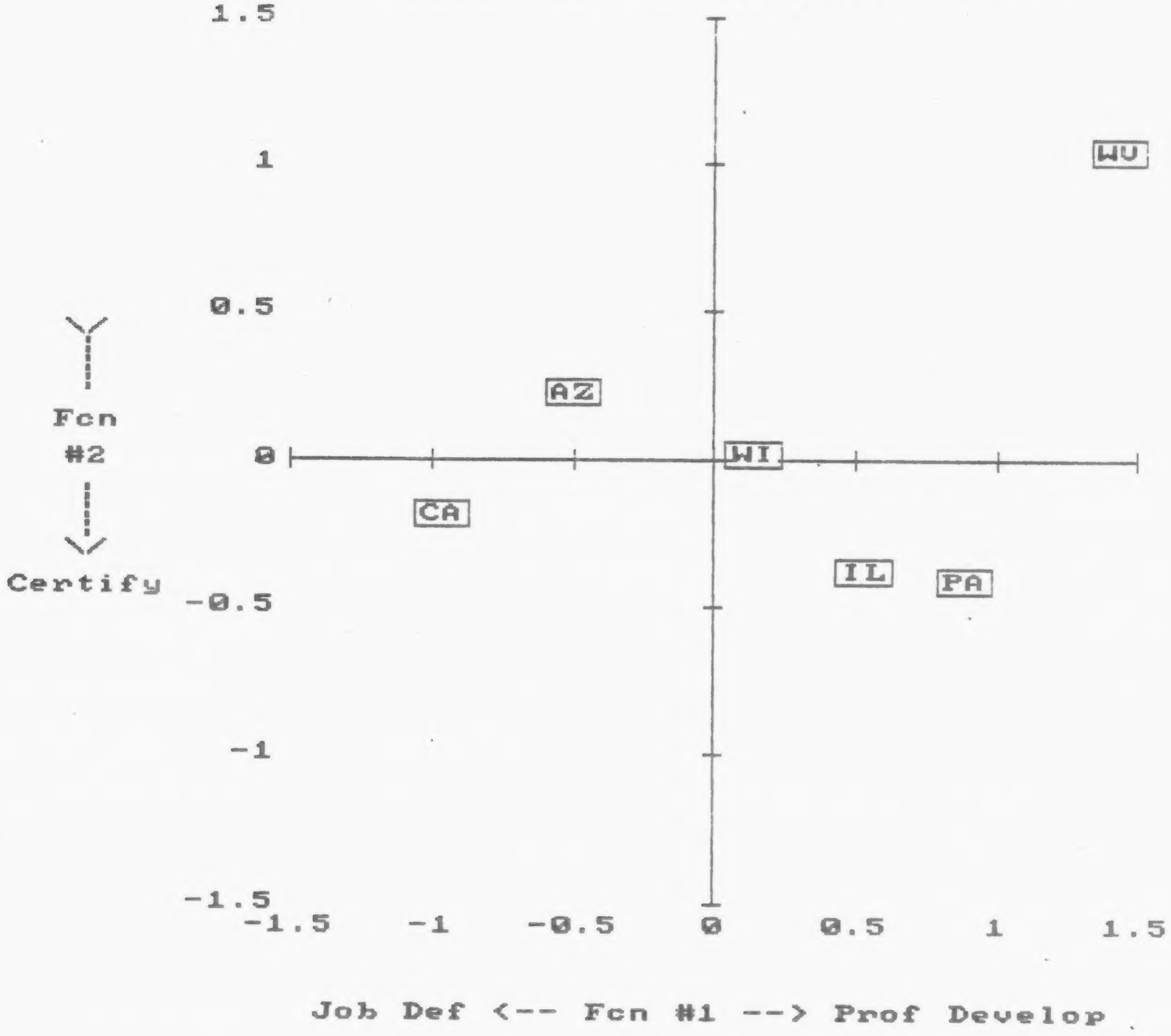
As indicated in Figure 4-2, and confirmed in the mean scores shown at the bottom of Table 4-10, West Virginia gives strong emphasis to professional development (more than half a rank above any other state). Pennsylvania, Illinois and California, by contrast, report more interest in pre-service training and certification.

Insert Figure 4-2 about here.

Different Approaches to Student Testing. Table 4-11 reports the differences among our sample states in their approaches to student and assessment policies. Interpreting the three multiple discriminant functions show in this table is a bit complicated because variations in state handling of the most prominent approach to testing policy -- specification of the format or content of statewide testing programs -- plays a substantial role in all three of the functions. (That is, this policy approach has a relatively large coefficient in each discriminant function). Careful scrutiny of the function coefficients, state centroids and mean ranking scores for the five different approaches to testing policy is well worth the effort, however. First, we note that,

MDF Finding #6: The most important differences in state testing policies related to the specification of test content. Some states are more likely to rely on local district content decisions than are the others.

Fig. 4-2. Discriminant Centroids
Personnel Policy Approaches



Insert Table 4-11 about here.

Notice that the two test content specification approaches (i.e., direct specification of the format or content of the tests and concern with the measurement of non-academic achievements) have large positive coefficients on the first multiple discriminant function in Table 4-11, while the use of state authority to require local districts to develop their own tests has a very large negative coefficient. As indicated by their positive centroid scores, Illinois, Wisconsin, and to a lesser extent, Arizona rely more on mandatory local test development. Arizona was in the midst of selecting a new statewide test at the time of our study, hence policy makers in this state understandably joined Pennsylvania and West Virginia in ranking the format/content approach especially high.

West Virginia, California and Pennsylvania reported much lower levels of interest in mandating local test development. They had a correspondingly higher level of concern with state level test content specification. (Note that these three states ranked non-academic assessment ahead of mandatory local tests).

The second multiple discriminant function shown in Table 4-11 is almost as powerful as the first (the multiple correlation coefficient drops from .59 to .55). The large coefficients in this second function are those for non-academic assessment, the use of tests to control student promotion or placement, and state level

TABLE 4-11. Multiple Discriminant Analysis of Alternative Approaches to Student Testing and Assessment Policy

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

APPROACH	FUNC #1 R=.59,p=.00 X =69.2,df=25	FUNC #2 R=.55,p=.00 X =41.9,df=16	FUNC #3 R=.45,p=.03 X =19.0,df=9
Mandate Local Tests	-0.751*	-0.193	0.050
Measuring Non-Academics	0.740*	-0.574*	-0.185
Use for Placement	-0.140	0.388*	0.274
Evaluate Tchrs/Prgms	0.203	0.179	0.635*
Format & Content of Tests	0.486*	0.479*	-0.505*

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2	FUNC #3
Arizona	0.076	-0.779	-0.278
California	-0.897	1.022	-0.839
Illinois	1.036	0.781	-0.521
Pennsylvania	-0.779	-0.171	0.192
West Virginia	-0.858	0.979	0.914
Wisconsin	0.717	0.126	0.502

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Format	Place	Eval	Non-Acad	Mandate
AZ	1.325	2.475	3.150	4.600	3.150
CA	1.667	3.250	3.000	3.250	3.333
IL	2.375	2.500	3.625	4.438	2.063
PA	1.125	2.594	3.656	3.656	3.969
WV	1.250	3.625	3.875	3.125	3.875
WI	1.500	2.906	4.188	4.406	2.188
TOTAL	1.464	2.736	3.586	4.121	3.050

specification of state format and content. Thus it is appropriate to conclude that:

MDF Finding #7: States differ significantly in their inclination to use stated defined academic achievement tests to assess student educational progress.

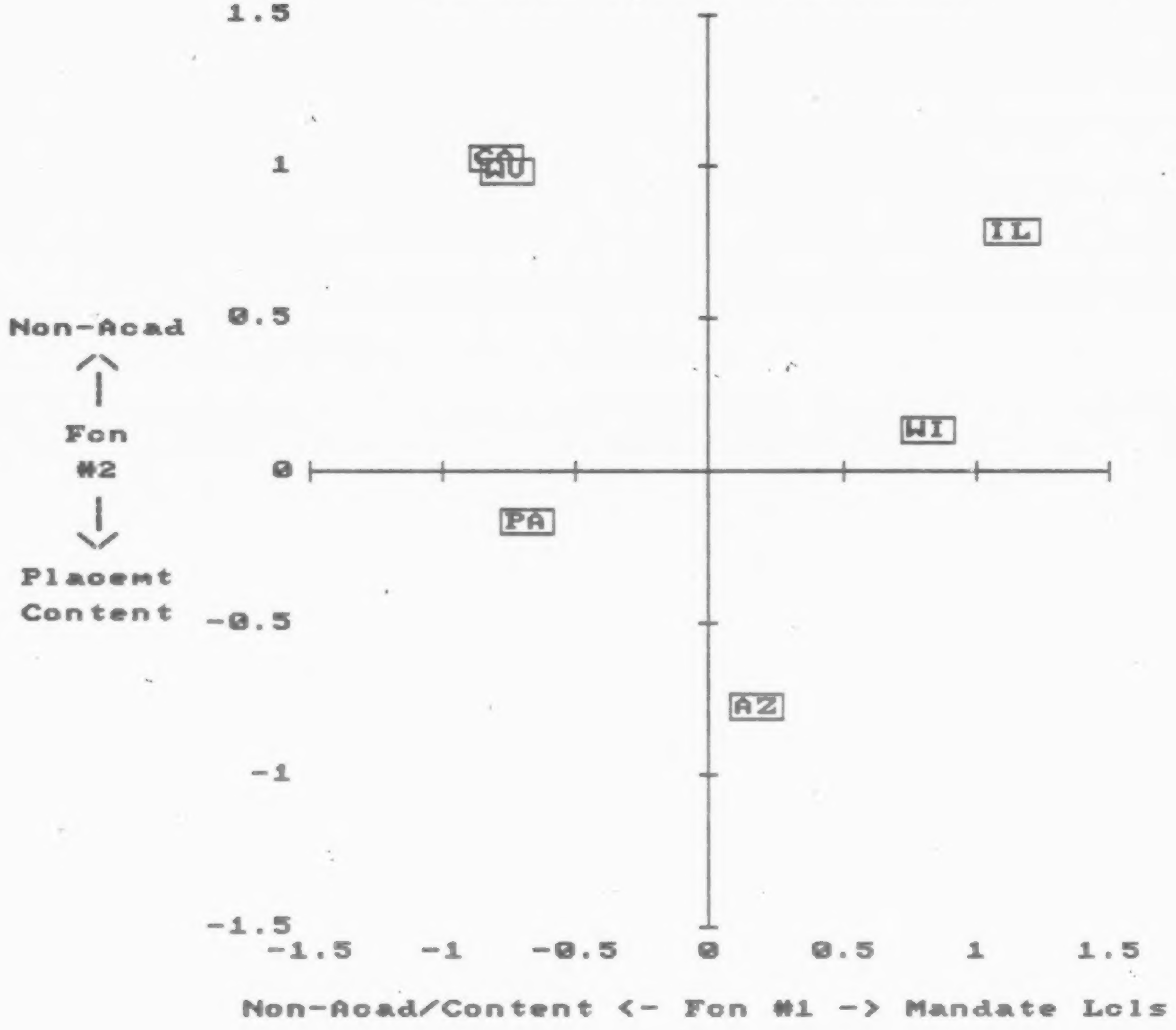
As indicated by their centroid scores, California, West Virginia, Illinois and to some extent even Wisconsin policy makers view state testing programs as less useful for monitoring academic progress than those in Arizona and Pennsylvania. Illinois respondents reported a higher than average ranking for the use of tests to control student placement and promotion, but they also were the only group to report that local test development takes precedence over statewide testing programs.

The pattern of state preferences on these two testing issues can be seen graphically in Figure 4-3. Note that California and West Virginia respondents reported similar views, indicating that state level testing programs are used to provide information rather than to influence student placement and promotion decisions. Arizona was farthest from these two states on the placement question; Illinois held the most divergent view on the matter of local control over test content.

Insert Figure 4-3 about here.

The third multiple discriminant function shown in Table 4-11 is also highly significant (p = .03) and quite powerful (multiple R =

Fig. 4-3. Discriminant Centroids Testing Policy Approaches



.45, meaning that about 20% of variance in responses is explained by it). The two large coefficients for this function are those for using test scores to evaluate school programs or teachers and, once again, the question of whether test format and content is being decided at the state level. This indicates that:

MDF Finding #8: While all states are giving substantially greater attention to specifying the content or format of testing programs than to the use of tests for evaluating school performance, there are significant differences among the states in their inclination to concentrate on how test results are to be used.

As indicated by the state centroid scores for this third function, California tends to give the most emphasis to the utilization of tests for personnel and program evaluation. West Virginia and Wisconsin give the least amount of attention to this policy approach.

While it is difficult to hold the results of all three testing policy discriminant function results in mind at once, they vividly describe the basic options available to all states. California is unique in its concern for broadening test content to include non-academic assessments and for its stronger than average interest in using tests to evaluate school and teacher performance rather than to control student placement. Only Californians reported the school/teacher evaluation function to be more prominent than the student assignment one.

West Virginia policy makers were unique in their lack of interest in test utilization for either student placement or school program evaluation. Only West Virginia respondents ranked non-academic assessment policies as more important than both placement and evaluation usage. Illinois policy makers are uniquely committed to local control over test content. Only this state ranked mandates for local test development ahead of establishing state control over the format or content of tests. Wisconsin policy makers generally shared the Illinois view, but they reported that the balance of attention is shifted somewhat toward state level test specification.

Arizona is unique in its emphasis on tests utilization for evaluation of student progress combined with a rejection of non-academic assessments. This state expresses the view that schools are intended to produce academic achievement and that testing that achievement should be a prominent state policy concern. Moreover, Arizonans believe test results should control both student progress and school evaluation more strongly than policy makers in other states. Pennsylvania largely shares the Arizona pattern, but gives greater emphasis to state level test content specification and commensurately less attention to local test development.

Different Approaches to School Program Definition. Though described by most policy makers as receiving the least amount of attention, MDF Finding #9: When dealing with program policies, states differed significantly in their assessment of the relative importance of regulating time requirements for school programs.

As shown in Table 4-12, only one significant multiple discriminant function resulted when alternative program definition approachers were analyzed. This highly reliable function accounts for about 30% of the respondent variance. Substantively, as indicated by the MDF coefficients, this function reflects a tension state level time or standards setting approaches and reliance on a content specification to control school programs. The coefficient for changing time requirements for school programs is the largest (+0.802) and contrasts most sharply with the -0.556 coefficient for mandating particular subjects for students to study. Though smaller in magnitude, the coefficient for the approach involving development of special programs for special groups is also negative. The coefficient for setting program standards (other than content), though small, is positive like the time requirements one.

Insert Table 4-12 about here.

Looking at the state centroids, we see that Illinois, and to a lesser extent Arizona, have adopted the subject mandating and special program development approaches. California is pre-eminently concerned with time requirement specification. In fact, California was the only state to rank time requirement

TABLE 4-12. Multiple Discriminant Analysis of Alternative Approaches to School Program Definition Policy

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

APPROACH	FUNC #1 R=.55,p=.01 X =37.5df=20
Change Time Reqs.	0.802*
Specify Subjects	-0.556*
Pgms for Special Grps	-0.403*
Set Prgm Standards	0.356

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1
Arizona	-0.140
California	-1.275
Illinois	1.148
Pennsylvania	0.331
West Virginia	-0.081
Wisconsin	-0.224

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Time	Subjects	Set Stds	Special
AZ	3.024	3.000	1.310	2.667
CA	1.938	3.313	1.375	3.375
IL	3.727	2.091	1.909	2.545
PA	3.385	2.269	1.423	2.923
WV	3.091	2.409	1.318	3.182
WI	3.000	2.885	1.231	3.115
TOTAL	3.078	2.675	1.409	2.916

changes second, ahead of subject specification and special group programs development. Hence, while setting higher program standards is universally reported to be the most prominent approach to program definition, there are substantial variations across the states in how that policy approach is combined with time or content oriented policy mandates.

Different Approaches to School Organization and Governance. Table 4-13 displays the three powerful multiple discriminant functions that result when state policy makers assess the relative importance of eight different approaches to school organization and governance. When the entire sample of 52 policy makers who responded to this SPM are taken together no significant preferences for some governance policy approaches are seen. But when they are separated by state they indicate that there are very sharp differences across the states in how the deal with these issues. As indicated by the first multiple discriminant function in Table 4-13:

MDF Finding #10: The most important differences among the states in dealing with governance issues concern the way they distribute authority to local districts, teacher groups, and students.

Insert Table 4-13 about here.

Illinois respondents took the most extreme view on these issues. They indicated that the most important recent governance policy decisions in that state had: a) strengthened teacher influence and

TABLE 4-13. Multiple Discriminant Analysis on Alternative Approaches to School Organization and Governance Policy

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

APPROACH	FUNC #1 R=.76,p=.00 X =91.8,df=40	FUNC #2 R=.64,p=.00 X =53.5,df=28	FUNC #3 R=.57,p=.03 X =30.3,df=18
Alter District Role	-0.625*	-0.220	-0.021
Strengthen Teachers	-0.411*	0.403*	-0.158
Incr. State Power	0.298	0.756*	-0.287*
Student Rights/Resp.	0.315*	-0.386*	0.167
Incr. Citizen Influence	0.158	-0.244	-0.011
Strengthen Site Level	0.080	0.236	0.436*
Incr. Admin. Control	0.061	-0.102	0.390*
Redistr. State Power	0.143	-0.273	-0.362*

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2	FUNC #3
Arizona	-1.050	0.758	-0.513
California	-1.228	-0.127	-1.439
Illinois	1.996	-0.070	-0.390
Pennsylvania	-0.364	0.582	0.650
West Virginia	-0.474	-1.272	0.364
Wisconsin	0.487	0.949	0.563

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Redis	State	Site	Tchrs	Stdnt	Admin	Citizn	Dstrct
AZ	4.214	5.143	4.286	5.143	3.429	4.500	3.357	5.929
CA	4.400	3.400	3.100	6.100	4.300	2.600	5.300	6.800
IL	5.091	5.273	4.591	2.455	6.227	4.409	5.409	2.545
PA	2.654	4.269	5.538	4.577	4.923	4.423	4.423	5.385
WV	4.500	1.667	4.167	3.417	5.750	5.083	5.292	6.125
WI	3.250	4.500	5.000	5.500	4.500	5.000	5.500	3.500
TOTAL	4.019	3.933	4.577	4.154	5.096	4.452	4.856	5.019

b) altered local school district roles and responsibilities. The reported increase in teacher influence is the direct result of the fact that in 198# Illinois became the 33rd state to grant formal collective bargaining rights to teachers. Though more than half the teachers in the state had long been covered by collective bargaining agreements worked out under a 1965 court interpretation allowing districts to voluntarily organized under the terms of the National Labor Relations Act, the new low forces districts to hold union elections and bargain in good faith if an exclusive representative is selected.

In contrast with their views on the teacher influence and district responsibilities questions, Illinois respondents reported that little attention is being paid to student rights and responsibilities issues. On average they gave this approach a rank of 6.227, nearly a full rank below the 2.455 mean rank of teacher influence.

California and Arizona respondents reported a very different picture of recent governance policy decision making in their states. Respondents from these two states reported little or no interest in either teacher or district authority expansion. Conversely, Arizona respondents ranked student rights/responsibilities second in importance to citizen influence considerations. California respondents did not indicate that student policies were prominent in recent decisions, however, ranking them fourth among the eight alternatives.

The other three states reported that recent governance policy actions lie somewhere between the Illinois and the California/Arizona patterns. On this first dimension, Wisconsin tended to follow the Illinois pattern while Pennsylvania and West Virginia were more like California and Arizona.

The second multiple discriminant function shown in Table 4-13 describes another important set of differences among our sample states. With a very strong multiple R of .64 (accounting for more than 40% of the respondent variance), this function reveals that:

MDF Finding #11: The states differ quite substantially in the extent to which recent governance policies have strengthened state level authority (at the expense of local districts). Where state level authority is being increased, this tends to be accompanied by increased teacher influence and a neglect of student rights and responsibilities issues.

West Virginia respondents reported the most aggressive expansion of state level authority, ranking this approach at the top of their list (their mean rank of 1.667 for this approach was far above that for any other state and more than one and a half ranks above their second palace governance policy approach -- expanded teacher influence).

Wisconsin, Arizona and Pennsylvania rejected the West Virginia pattern, reporting little inclination for expansion of state authority within their states. California and Illinois respondents did not take sides on this tension.

The third multiple discriminant function shown in Table 4-13 is also very powerful (multiple R = .57, p = .03) and indicates that:

MDF Finding #12: The states differ substantially over whether site level and administrative governance authority is being supported by recent policy decisions. Those states giving less attention to these approaches tend to emphasize either state level control or redistribution of power among various state level agencies.

California reported the greatest support for local administrators and school site governance (ranking these two approaches well ahead of the other six alternatives considered). This viewpoint is clearly embodied in recent California legislation making teacher dismissal easier and mandating training for school administrators. The California perspective is shared to some extent by Arizona and Illinois policy makers. Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and West Virginia report the contrasting view that state level considerations have been given greater attention than site governance or increased administrative control.

Different Approaches to Curriculum Policy. As indicated by the multiple discriminant analysis presented in Table 4-14, there are no significant differences among the states in their responses to the three alternative curriculum development and selection approaches offered for comment to the 39 policy makers who expressed familiarity with this policy domain. Hence we concluded that:

MDF Finding #15: Among the seven SPMs under study, only curriculum development and selection policies showed no systematic variations across the six sample states.

Insert Table 4-14 about here.

As indicated above in our discussion of Table 4-6, there was strong agreement among all respondents regarding the relative priority among the three identified curricular policy approaches. Scope and sequence specification dominates, specialized materials development is second, and mandatory curriculum usage by local districts is a distant third. When separated into their respective state groupings we find no further clarification of curriculum policy priorities. There are slight differences across the states, but they are well within expected sampling variations.

Different Approaches to Building Plant and Facilities Policy. The views of the 38 respondents who discussed alternative approaches to school building policy are shown on Table 4-15. As indicated on the table, there is one significant multiple discriminant function separating the six sample states. It indicates that:

MDF Finding #16: Although all states but California ranked the long range planning approach to building policy lower in priority than remediation of various architectural problems, there are significant differences among the states regarding the relative importance of this approach to dealing with schools.

TABLE 4-14. Multiple Discriminant Analysis on Alternative Approaches to Curriculum Materials Policy

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

APPROACH	FUNC #1 R=.36,p=.51 X =7.29,df=8
Develop Special Matls.	-0.993
Mandate Local Use	0.540
Specify Scope & Sequence	0.303

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1
Arizona	-0.360
California	0.628
Pennsylvania	0.322
West Virginia	-0.165
Wisconsin	0.299

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Mandate	Scope & Seq	Special
AZ	2.567	1.333	2.100
CA	2.750	1.750	1.500
PA	2.429	1.857	1.714
WV	2.429	1.571	2.000
WI	3.000	1.333	1.667
TOTAL	2.603	1.513	1.885

Note: No respondents in Illinois provided data on this SPM.

Insert Table 4-15 about here.

Pennsylvania and West Virginia respondents tended to share the California concern for long range planning. Arizona, Illinois and the lone respondent in this domain from Wisconsin indicated that building policies in their states to not emphasize this approach.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have reviewed the commonalities and differences among our six sample states in their reliance on various approaches to each of the seven basic state policy mechanisms described in the previous chapter. We found that, except for the governance domain, there is a national consensus on the most important approaches to take to in each policy domain. Equalization and establishing overall funding levels dominate school finance policy. Pre-service certification and training issues are most important in the personnel arena. Testing policy is dominated by a state level concern with specifying the format or content of required student tests. Setting higher standards for school programs dominates policy making in this area. Curriculum materials policy is pre-eminently concerned with specifying the scope and sequence of instruction. And building policy is predominantly concerned with remediation of identified architectural problems.

Beyond this national consensus, however, we found very important variations across the six states under study in all policy domains

TABLE 4-15. Multiple Discriminant Analysis on Alternative Approaches to School Building and Facilities Policy

Groups Defined by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

APPROACH	FUNC #1 R=.73,p=.01 X =29.3,df=15
Long Range Planning	0.959
Remediate Problems	-0.378
Technical Review	-0.288
Dev. New Capacities	-0.080

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1
Arizona	1.064
California	-1.064
Illinois	0.737
Pennsylvania	-0.816
West Virginia	-0.809
Wisconsin	1.937

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Tech Rev	LR Plan	Remedy	New Cap
AZ	2.036	3.393	1.357	3.214
CA	2.500	2.000	2.200	3.300
IL	2.000	3.000	1.000	4.000
PA	3.000	2.167	1.667	3.167
WV	2.300	2.100	2.000	3.600
WI	2.000	4.000	1.000	3.000
TOTAL	2.316	2.671	1.658	3.355

except the curriculum materials one. Especially strong inter-state variations are found in the domains of school governance, finance and student testing. Each of these policy mechanisms produced three strong, statistically independent, and substantively meaningful multiple discriminant functions which distinguish among alternative state policy approaches in these areas. Two substantively important functions illuminate inter-state differences in approach to personnel policies, and one significant function was found for program definition and building policy differences.

CHAPTER V

VALUES IN LEGISLATIVE CODES

Introduction

Political power in policy making is directed toward promoting and protecting certain values; that concept is basic to the definition of politics as "the authoritative allocation of values and resources" (Easton, 1965). Authoritative sources of policy values are found in statutes, court decisions, and bureaucratic rules. The value focus of this chapter seeks to understand the limited set of values found in the codified educational statutes of our six sample states.

As suggested by Easton (1965, p. 11), if political science research concepts remain ambiguous, "there is little possibility of passing on to consider the interrelationships among" them. Consequently, defining educational value concepts and locating them within different policy forms are vitally important tasks designed to clarify referents and remove ambiguity. To undertake this task, we first raise some conceptual distinctions about four major values evident in education policy. We then employ content analysis in two states of sharply differing political cultures (see next chapter) in order to see these values reflected in policy forms.

Definitions of Major Values

A review of prior research led us to posit, a priori, that four values are central to educational policy -- Choice, Efficiency, Equity, and Quality (The basis for this postulate is described more fully in Chapter 7). A first task was to define these terms operationally, that is to delineate the intended behavioral goals of legal language. This task was particularly nettlesome, however, because each of our four postulated values were gradually recognized as the instrumental aspect of deeper, more abiding aspects of the American political value system. Over an extended period, our search for basic meanings led to the following definitions.

Choice

In normal discourse, Choice refers to both the presence of options for action and the ability to select a preferred option. In the context of education code analysis, Choice means that a state statute mandates to a school constituency the opportunity to make policy decisions or to reject them. Note the contradiction in terms. A mandate is a requirement, but in this case it is a requirement that creates uncertainty by permitting local agencies to exercise power if they wish. Law does not exist without a mandate, a focus of legislative intent to specify or limit the activity of citizens. Indeed, Choice exists to the greatest possible extent where no state law exists at all. Obviously, therefore, Choice as an object of state policy is difficult to isolate. There is no way of identifying state intent to create absolute Choice, only where Choice is circumscribed and "mandated" it is concretely expressed in statutory language.

The presence of Choice in the education codes analyzed was ultimately defined in terms of the following three rules (their application will be illustrated later):

1. Where statutory language explicitly grants the right to select among alternative allocations of public values and resources, as for example, the right to choose among alternative textbooks for a given course.

2. Where statutory language preserves local freedom by use of permissive verbs like "may" or "can" in reference to a district's actions, as for example, in the grant of authority to parental advisory boards for various programs (Where actual appointment of such advisory groups remains optional).

3. Where statutory language allocates authority for decision on some aspect of school operations or programs to particular groups -- professionals in the district, voters, parents, students -- even though professional administrators and teachers must carry out the decision once made, as for example, where voters are given authority to vote a bond issue up or down.

It is important to look behind the vestiges of Choice preserved in statutes to see the substructure of another value on which it relies. Underlying legal Choice is a basic political value: the liberty derived from popular sovereignty. The sovereignty of individual citizens, arguably the most fundamental of all American political values, creates the basis for legitimate citizen authority over public officials and policy actions. Choice then is an instrumental value, a means for citizens to carry out the rights derived from their sovereignty. In short, behind this value of Choice is the elaborate set of political ideas which lie at the heart of democratic governance -- they need no elaboration here.

Efficiency

Efficiency is widely used in this nation as a standard for assessing both public and private life, but it turns out to be a very complex value. Its classic definition, derived from the world of mechanical processes, is that of a ratio of work performed to energy expended. But in referring to human actions it is popularly seen as a goal -- "We intend to make this program the most efficient in the country." But in reality it is less ends-oriented than means-oriented. That appears in state codes, where Efficiency has at least two meanings and takes two guises.

1. It has an economic form, that is, minimizing costs while maximizing gains in order to obtain an optimized policy. This usage is an economic surrogate for the machine definition. In this form in state codes, it may appear as a state mandate to determine local compliance with a goal by the state specifying resources needed for specified units of work. Most familiarly, this appears as a certain ratio of services provided for a given number of persons served, such as the pupil-teacher ratio or the minimum number of children needed for a kindergarten.

2. It also has an accountability form, that is, the mandate of effective means by which superiors in an authority system can oversee and hence control the local exercise of power and

responsibility. This form of Efficiency is manifest in the fine detailing of procedures for using school authority in many matters. Such procedural requirements are designed to ensure that those affected by the exercise of power can judge its wisdom, honesty, and effectiveness. It is seen most familiarly in the specification of stages of the budgetary process, each of which must be publicized. Common to both these forms of Efficiency is the state mandating a subordinate agency to follow specified and public procedures for the purpose of enabling the agency and citizens to determine compliance with their goals.

Underlying the instrumental values of economic and regulatory efficiency is a deeper American value -- the public service responsibility of those who are granted political power to pursue the interest of those who authorize its use. The responsible exercise of power, this basic American value, is instrumentally evaluated through assessments of the economic and accountability Efficiency of public agencies.

Equity

In education as elsewhere in the policy world, Equity involves the use of political authority to redistribute more equitably resources for critical resources required for the satisfaction of human needs. From the standpoint of statute formation, basic Equity is a problem of redress rather than address. This value becomes operative only in a two-stage process.

1. A disadvantage, deficiency, or other measure of the gap between normative standards of social life and the needs of

citizens must be explicitly identified. Enmeshed in the discovery of norm-need gap are moral and political decisions about whose needs are real and substantial (rather than being inappropriate claims for privilege or social largess), how their needs can be addressed programmatically, and how they will be financed.

2. Motivated by equity considerations, then, public resources are allocated to close the gap between norm and need. Note that these resources are not made equally available to all citizens. Those who are already advantaged are asked to forego benefit because they are already benefiting from other public programs or their own private resources.

Equity is most familiarly seen in compensatory or handicapped educational programs. Typically, these programs define a norm-need gap, and employ public resources to close it. Quite often, specific state mandates in these programmatic areas are designed to qualify for and implement federal programs. Such Equity requirements consist of detailed guidelines for ensuring the distribution of resources to particular pupils.

Underlying Equity is an even more basic American value -- the worth of every individual in society, and the responsibility of the total society to realize that worth. In brief, the American political system rests on a widespread belief that realizing individual worth requires active promotion and protection by a wide range of public and private institutions. Gaps between normative standards of individual dignity and worth and the frequent failure of reality to meet them, through either accident or the pernicious effects of the actions of various groups or agencies in society generate public programs to redress this inequality. Equity is thus the instrumental value, the mechanism of law, used to realize this more basic value of the worth of the individual.

Quality

Popularly, Quality means the best or at least a substantial net improvement in the well-being of those affected by a program, and here public law matches that belief. Again, a two-stage process is at work in the application of this value:

1. The state mandates certain standards of performance for the schools -- identified in student proficiency, program content, personal qualifications, or other identifiable attributes of program quality. Clearly, such mandates are subject to redefinition over time; we are currently in the midst of such a change following A Nation at Risk call for reform.

2. To achieve these standards, public resources are allocated and regulations formulated to direct their utilization. A commitment to Quality underlies the identification and definition of these standards, and it is evident in requirements for staff training, use of instructional resources, or performance by school professionals and pupils. Much of the history of education has been driven by this search for Quality -- curriculum, teaching methods, teacher and administrator training, and the other attributes of the professional model of education. It is seen most familiarly in the certification procedures for teachers or in school program definitions.

Educational program quality (like quality in other public services) is not an end in itself. High quality education programs are valued because they are instrumentally connected to the fulfillment of the moral and social obligations of all citizens. The good life, American's believe, is a life enhanced by education. Only the expanded sensibilities and honed skills produced by education assists individuals in realizing their full potential and accepting their obligations as responsible citizens.

Quality, then, is an instrumental value -- one needed to support the American belief in the crucial importance of education as the source of character and fulfillment of ultimate human purposes. Quality provides the norms and resources which, in application, make life worth living and individuals worthwhile -- education prepares the citizen for a life of dignity in a complex world.

Conceptual Aspects of Policy Values

The Iterative Process of Definitions

These definitions were arrived at by an interative process among the three senior researchers on our team, and took this form:

1. We began with generalized notions of the four values through reading and discussion.

2. We undertook a preliminary review of the codes of the six states to see if these meanings were relevant to the code data.

3. That review led us to specify more operationally what each value meant, producing the definitions set out above .

4. The operational definitions were applied to code analysis to mean that a value's presence in a statutory code section rested upon the observed presence of certain legally authorized actions, as they affected school systems -- pupils, parents, teachers, and so on. In this approach, then, broad conceptual terms were further clarified and defined by examining the statutory requirements for behavior by political authorities and their clientele; the examples provided in Exhibit 1 illuminate that behavior.

As noted above, this operational approach led us to distinguish between two kinds of one value -- Efficiency -- which displays both economic and accountability forms.

5. Those operational definitions served as our guide interstate comparisons in the legal content of education codes. They reinforced our judgment the interstate equivalency of values in legal references.

An important result of this iterative process was that it identified no new values with comparable standing as basic elements in these codes. The language of all sections of all analyzed codes fit within one of our four values. Of course, other values can be subsumed under these four. For example, a desire for honesty in governmental performance is subsumed under accountability aspects of Efficiency. Or, a preference for decisional systems to be open to citizens is subsumed under both Efficiency-accountability and Choice. That is, we conceived our results to mean that other values were parts of the four larger values. The result may be an artifact of our method, of course, but we found no values so evident to constitute a separate category.

The crucial significance of these values cannot be overstated. They are major normative references for educational policy in any political system, although priorities will differ with the system. Even an authoritarian system has rulers concerned about Quality and Efficiency in education; they also need to provide Equity remedies for gaps between norms and needs; but they will ignore Choice by others when they believe they know best. In democratic systems, on the other hand, all four values are pursued, although as we will see, not with an even hand. How these values relate to one another and how policy makers give them priorities are other issues of interest, to which we now turn.

Dimensions of Values

How do these values relate to each other, that is, do they possess some internal logic which makes them opposed or reinforcing to one another? Are they hierarchical? Can one be selected by policymakers while ignoring the others? Answers here can provide insight into the value conflict that lies at the heart of policymaking. That conflict is illustrated in the American political ideology itself, where equality and liberty drive citizens into confrontation. Enforcing programs of equal opportunity works against the inequalities which result from citizens freely pursuing disparate ends. Current controversies over desegregation and affirmative action are illustrative of this basic opposition of values.

On the other hand, if different values can reinforce one another, then they may be mutually served in a policymaking atmosphere of cooperation. For example, rationality and due process of law are reinforcing values because both rest on adherence to fundamental procedures designed to serve the major goal of fairness in the actions of government. Indeed, observers of American bureaucracy have noted since World War II the incorporation of due process elements into standard bureaucratic procedures, for example, due notice, hearings, appeals, and so on. (Selznik,).

We may think of these possibilities of conflict and reinforcement as conceptual dimensions along which values that reinforce are close and those that are opposed are more removed. The potential dimensions of our four major values may be conceptualized as follows, with a priori judgments about their opposing and reinforcing nature.

	Quality	Equity	Efficiency	Choice
Quality	X			
Equity	Oppose	X		
Efficiency	Reinforce	Reinforce	X	
Choice	Oppose	Oppose	Oppose	X

The reasoning, developed below, shows that Choice inherently opposes all values, Efficiency reinforces all but Choice, and Quality opposes all but Efficiency.

The Quality-Equity Dimension

The values of Quality and Equity are in opposition because the first value seeks uniform standards and services applied to all clients of schools, while the second seeks special services or standards for particular clients. If educational resources were infinitely elastic there might be no conflict here; more funds for educating or rewarding special clientele would not cut into funds for all other pupils. But, except in boom periods, funds at all governmental levels tend to be zero-sum (either in a steady state or declining economic era); consequently, demands for Equity services will necessarily be opposed by those who will not benefit. Equity supporters claim, properly enough, that their efforts are designed to achieve Quality standards for their clients. But, out of economic, racial and ethnic, or status fears, supporters of Quality see these efforts as a loss to them and so oppose them. Many major disputes within educational services -- over desegregation, affirmative action, bilingual and handicapped education -- are basically rooted in the polar positions of these two values on this dimension.

The Quality-Efficiency Dimension

On the other hand, the values of Quality and Efficiency illustrate the reinforcing principle. Achievement of the uniform standards that underlie the thrust of Quality must rely upon both the economic and accountable forms of Efficiency to achieve their purposes. Formula-based laws and regulations, with their appeal to an ostensible rationality, as well as elaborate reporting procedures, are consciously designed by policy makers to ensure that their legislative goals are effectively implemented. The large apparatus in all state departments of education and chief school officer staff is Efficiency manifest in search of Quality. Furthermore, there is a temporal sequence implicit in the reinforcing relationship of these two values -- Quality first and Efficiency second -- which will be treated more fully later.

The two's necessary linkage accounts for the politics that always accompanies implementation. Implementation seeks both efficient and effective means of realizing legislative purposes. Politically wise groups know that decisions at this stage can enhance or protect their particular goals, and so they convert the search for rationality into a political contest. In this contest, all agree on the Quality goals and on the need for efficient and effective means of realizing them. However, the dispute is over defining efficient and effective, not over the Efficiency goal itself.

The Quality-Choice Dimension

Quality and Choice are in tension because the operation of Choice leads often to different definitions of Quality in educational programs. But only one definition can be officially authorized. Hence if choice is supported, quality becomes difficult to control. Historically, the involvement of professional educators in policymaking has led to the dominance of their views of Quality in policy areas, like Personnel and Program.

The Choice-Equity Dimension

The opposition between Choice and Equity arises because conceptually the first provides options from which districts may choose, while the second mandates requirements that districts or states must choose. The "shall" and "must" terms of Equity provisions stand sharply opposed to the "may" provisions of Choice.

That conceptual distinction has been fleshed out experientally as well. It has been the historic unwillingness of a decentralized education system to redistribute resources to those with special schooling needs that has generated the drive for Equity-based law. The poor, minority, handicapped, and gifted pupils have each a similar history of local inattention, discrimination, or underfunding; they is each also shared a similar process of political mobilization to protect themselves in courts and legislatures at higher levels of government. The opposition between these two values continues into the implementation stage, leading to current efforts to reduce or eliminate them in some cases. Finally, these two values especially exemplify the generic contradiction between equality and freedom in our political ideology noted earlier in this chapter.

The Choice-Efficiency Dimension

Choice and Efficiency is another case of opposing values. Conceptually, providing options for others' decisions runs against the "one best way" orientation of achieving educational goals. In one sense, the means-oriented purposes inherent in Efficiency policies are at odds with the self-fulfillment purposes inherent in Choice policies. That is, the first seeks a single set of economic or accountable procedures for ensuring that educational goals are achieved; the second seeks a range of procedures that necessarily maximizes plural paths to those goals. What is logical conceptually is supported empirically in code analysis. Efficiency dominates not simply Choice but all values.

In a larger sense, the Choice-Efficiency opposition symptomizes the enduring tension in democracies between two political forces. One might be termed the "participatory," that is, the desire to participate in those decisions about services which affect citizens' lives. For example, "local control" has been so important for so long in American education because it so well reflects this participatory impulse. That does not mean that all, or even a majority of, citizens do participate. But there has been a clear expectation to which most citizens are that affected individuals should have some say over, not simply who our officials will be, but how they shape public policy.

The opposing force in democracy -- indeed, in all nation states -- is the "rationalizing" influence of public policy. This is the effort to make rational choices between policies that expend resources. Rational means both a clear fit between policy means -- the mechanisms for using resources -- and social goals and at regularizing of programs and institutional functions so that they can be held accountable for their actions.

The Efficiency-Equity Dimension

Efficiency and Equity are conceptualized as reinforcing values, because the goals associated with the second require employing the means of the second to be realized. That is, the redressing of unequal distributions of educational resources cannot be accomplished without assessing the costs of pursuing particular goals and the development of accountability procedures to ensure goal compliance.

Desegregation illuminates this conceptual linkage between means and ends. The familiar disparities of resources in segregated school systems required, first, the will to seek a political solution, second, the technical knowledge to identify specific disparities and devise means for redistributing resources within a school system, and third, the means to enforce change through oversight of implementation (that is, an accountability form of Efficiency). There have been other Equity-based policies in education -- school consolidation earlier and more recently, vocational education, bilingual education, and so on. Each has been accompanied by much protest over that goal and the method of accomplishing it efficiently; the protest came from those not benefited by this goal and its methods.

Actor Influences on Values

This brief review of six value dimensions is unified by conceptualizing them as influences within the political system, working upon the policy-making process. These value influences are not in any sense hierarchical, but rather each value is pursued in policy always in relationship to the other values. In four of the six dimensions, we suggest that these values are in conflict, both conceptually and experientally. Implicit among all these conflicts is the presence of two sets of policy actors: the professional (oriented to rational means and professionally- defined goals) on the one hand; and on the other, groups of citizens (often non-professionals) who reflect the pluralism of American interests.

The power of the professionals has been enormous in our history. They have left their mark on the Efficiency and Quality code provisions among the states. Professionals have generally defined Quality goals and Efficiency means for achieving them. But the participatory thrust, legitimated by the democratic principle of popular sovereignty, gets in the way of this dominance when it seeks new goals and means. Of course, not all citizens oppose all professionals all the time. Some citizen groups also reinforce professionals in their work. Workers and trade unions did so in helping found public schools in major cities (Peterson, 1985, chapter 2); also, over time that may have been the chief contribution of middle-class PTAs. This citizen influence is probably more subtle, however. That is, professionals get sensitized to the potential for participatory influence, and so they must deal with it in their own efforts at state policy making and implementation. Chapter 9 later will show, however, that in the judgments of state policy elites, public opinion in general is not that influential on their decisions; however, opinions of clientele groups, like teachers, definitely is important.

The Sequencing of Values in Policymaking

Issue Creation

Can we derive from these data a model of how these major values are sequenced into law? On any given policy matter, do all values emerge simultaneously? Or does the policymaking process shape the order in which values get recognized and dealt with? This question of policy sequence cannot be answered by resort to historical data in the codes, for usually such data do not exist. Rather, it would be important first to build a conceptual framework of the most likely interactions which would affect this matter of sequence.

Perception of crisis is most often the trigger to innovation in many policy areas, but more than a crisis is required. Issues get on governmental agendas as a result of the interaction between leaders and stressful societal conditions which are precipitated by triggering events (Cobb and Elder, 1983). The stress may be either extensive (affecting much of society) or intensive (affecting significant groups); wars and depressions illustrate the first pattern, and urban riots among minorities the second.

In education policy, leaders have been crucial in getting issues on the agenda. Scholars have noted the pivotal role of leaders in building educational administration (Tyack and Hansot, 1982), in constructing a model of professional control (Cremin, 1965), and, even earlier, in urging the idea of free, public education. State by state, beginning in the mid-19th century and without federal direction, voluntary networks of professors and practitioners responded to, and helped create, the sense of need for public education.

Why Quality Comes First

Reading this historical analysis it is evident that the first efforts to build such a service were premised on a belief in Quality. The reaction against the party machine control of schooling was rooted in the conviction that poor education was the result, and that a higher quality result could come from transforming teaching and administration into a profession. The policy ideas of this profession -- both professors and practitioners alike -- were the best source for improving educational quality. There then resulted professional values of "one best system" (Tyack, 1974) of "managers of virtue" (Tyack and Hansot, 1982). This transformation was premised on first bringing Quality into schooling.

A broader perspective on professions in general will illuminate what happened here. In any service that is profession-driven (unlike say, auto repair), professionals seek to dominate four basic policy domains. What is good service? How much of it should be provided? How is a competent practitioner defined? Who shall evaluate the results (Wirt, 1981)? Ultimately these are political questions (although professionals have rejected this ugly phrase); in answering these questions, professionals have usually dominated, although recurrent challenge from clients can alter them. But note that all four questions center around defining matters of Quality in service, quantity, personnel, and evaluation.

We need not look back too far to see why Quality is the first value concern of policy makers. In the effort to reform educational services among the states in the mid-1980s, much of the discussion centered around one basic idea at the heart of A Nation at Risk. This idea was that pervasive deficiencies in the delivery of this service had produced poor quality results. This and later reports accepted this premise and thereafter focused on different remedies to improve Quality. Notice that the first state reforms dealt mostly with adding more courses to the curriculum, increasing in-school time, and improving instruction. All of these have in common a concern about Quality -- as professionals defined it.

Why Efficiency Comes Second

Goals of Quality once proclaimed are not automatically self-executing; like all good aims in life they must be worked at to be realized. That necessitates some rational estimation of procedures and resources needed for goal success set in a framework of decisional rules. It also calls for oversight of these rules to ensure compliance. We have defined this latter process as Efficiency-based, which is why it follows, not precedes, the setting of Quality goals. This sequence makes conceptual sense. If the Efficiency value generates means-like actions, those must be directed to some end that predates the means. Otherwise we would have means floating around in human action without direction, behavior that is usually termed non-rational.

The large amount of Efficiency in education law is striking. Both conceptually and empirically, legislating one policy goal necessitates creating more than one Efficiency method to achieve it. The latter value must infuse all the SPMs, and subsequent analysis will show there was considerably more code references for Efficiency than for Quality (48% v. 19% in Illinois, and 36% v. 18% in Wisconsin). That is also why the Golden Rule required only ten commandments but innumerable human regulations to back it, with results still being debated.

Why Equity Comes Third

The provisions of a Quality program, followed by Efficiency-based methods to implement it, leads to a curious result in experience -- maldistribution of any public service. Whatever the policy area, some clients get more than others, and not because of a simple Marxian notion of class power. For example, the poor need more public welfare and housing services than do the middle and high income citizens, and they need more protection against violent crime (and even against such non-violent crimes of consumer fraud) than the others (Lineberry and Sharkansky, 1978, Part 4). These findings illuminate the point that differential service delivery arises because of differential social needs.

Differential access to service has been a constant in education as well. We know well that basing school funding upon a single, locally-based tax made the quality of a child's education a function of district wealth; funding reforms in the 1920s and 1970s at the state level testify to that. It is also clear that educational achievements differ dramatically, although the argument continues over whether it is a function of status, race, or resources.

Let us make an even larger point, that any educational service is bound to be maldistributed among even those clients to whom it is specifically directed. Even in a classroom of wealthy students, backed by reinforcing parents and a resource-filled school, there is still a grading curve; even here, learning is not equally received and instilled. Consequently, when any Quality goal is sought, those who do not benefit are likely to seek additions to existing resources and procedures which will assist them. That is, Equity will be next sought.

Of course, Not all inequities are pursued into the policy world. Many inequities are not visible to clients; or if visible, citizens may feel alienated from participating in the political system, or if they perceive inequities and desire action, they may lack maze-wisdom of how to succeed in it. In short, barriers of perception, will, and knowledge act to depress political protest against objectively evident inequities. But in terms of our sequence model, Equity concerns follow the creation of Quality goals and of Efficiency means. Hence equity is a matter of redress for real or perceived inequities. Quality, by contrast is a matter of address -- the development of public programs to garner the benefits of collective action.

Why Choice Pervades The Sequence

This linear model of how values get sequenced into the body of law must yield to the fact that citizen Choice operates at every step, not at some single point in the sequence. Logically, Choice arises even before laws exist on a matter. Without laws, there would be the "state of nature" beloved of 17th century political philosophers; here there was maximum Choice to do anything. However, as these writers noted, that kind of choice without law left power in the hands of those who control the means of violence. Under these conditions, then, Choice ended up messily for most people; it was a life that was, as Hobbes wrote, "mean, nasty, brutish, and short." The coming of government and its law in a "social contract" would limit Choice for some, but expand freedom from violence for most.

That insight has meaning for understanding the place of Choice in the educational policy sequence. The participatory influence noted earlier has entered determinations about the other three values. Indeed, it can be argued, Choice was present even before Quality goals for education were established. People could choose not to be educated, and as we know, many did -- the Census Bureau data on illiteracy testify to that Choice.

More significantly, Choice entered at the founding of American education, because free, public education was an idea which gained wide public acceptance among Protestants; Paul Peterson (1985; chapter 2) has recently shown how its founding rested on a broad base of workers and trade unions in four major cities. Further, Choice was maintained after creation of the public school system in the Efficiency stage by the election of school boards and, in about half the states, the use of the referendum on tax levies, bonds, and even annual budgets (Wirt and Kirst, 1982, chapters 5, 7). Also, Choice has an episodic impact on Efficiency, seen in the socialization of professionals to anticipate the public's "zone of tolerance" of actions, outside which popular discontent will intrude (Boyd, 1976). Finally, the recent struggle for Equity has generated much pressure group litigation and legislative initiative at state and federal levels. These political actions mean simply that many citizens exercised Choice in order to alter maldistributions of resources for special pupils.

In short, democratic principles have made Choice an active ingredient of educational policy affecting the other three values. Its possibility for challenging professional decisions makes it an ever-present consideration in any contemporary decisions about those values.

Summary

In this chapter we are seeking to clarify one of the major concepts in political analysis -- values. In this first section we posited that four major values permeate the structure of state educational policy. Choice, Equity, Efficiency, and Quality represent in turn underlying political values in the policy system. Conceptual analysis leads to the conclusion that these four values exist in no hierarchical fashion, but rather operate alternately to reinforce or oppose one another. In many of the policy choices resting on these values, professional determinations have been of key importance, although episodic influences from the participatory force of democracy also play a role; the latter are most visible in the accountability form of Efficiency and in Choice. Furthermore, there is a logical chronology to the sequence by which three of these values enter the policy system; Quality begets Efficiency which begets Equity, but Choice, however, constrains the growth of all three of these values.

How do these values look when reflected in the structure of actual educational policy among the states? We will examine their distribution in two drastically different states and also illustrate their presence. Not everything countable is valuable, of course, but some quantitative analysis will reinforce the conceptual clarifications advanced to this point.

Methodology of Content Analysis

Comprehensive content analysis of state codes is not often used to present the full panoply of state action in a policy area; two recent exceptions are found in education policy in the fields of civics curriculum by the American Bar Association (Henning et al., 1979; reviewed in Wirt, 1984), and in the field of state control of local education (Wirt, 1977, 1978). More often, analysis of a public policy is quite narrow, focused upon but one program in a few or even one state. In this chapter, however, we demonstrate the utility of comprehensive code analysis, employing of our six states with different political cultures (chapter 6). The purpose is to adduce the inherent value content of the entire set of state policy mechanisms (SPMs) reported earlier.

The Item of Analysis

The analysis in this chapter rests upon a tally of all items of the state codes of education for Illinois and Wisconsin in the early 1980s. An "item," the object of the tallying, is defined as any unit of the code (sentence, paragraph, group of paragraphs or numbered code section) that expressed a state policy utilizing one of the State Policy Mechanisms (SPMs) described in chapter 3. The largest unit of analysis in any case was a numbered code section. In reading each item, we drew inferences about the presence of one or more major values, defined earlier. (Representative illustrations of the four policy values expressed within each of the seven SPMs are presented below.) A fuller explanation of this process may be useful.

The usual diversity of American state practices emerged even in the way of expressing codes among our sample states. For the same program embodied in any given SPM, code language could be brief or long, its placement among sections of the code could vary, and the wording itself could be clear or murky. The first decision we made was that the largest unit of content analysis would be any code-numbered sub-heading of an SPM. That sub-heading could contain one or many sentences, one or many paragraphs, but every numbered section was given at least one tally. The decision to code every number reference was based on an assumption, namely, that legislators in writing a particular part of the code believed it was linked to that common topic and accordingly numbered it to appear there.

The Presence of Values

In content analysis, the counting of items can be as complex or simple as research requires; one can tally every word, sentence, or paragraph within an item. We concluded, however, that states use different expressive styles in writing statutory language (Wisconsin's was a model of clarity). Counting small units like words or sentences would, therefore, constitute an immense labor for some states and give a false basis for state comparisons. Just because legislators in one state use prolix -- even confused -- expression does not mean they are saying more about an item than legislators in other states who speak concisely and lucidly.

Rather, we read the whole of a code-numbered subheading and subdivided it for multiple tallies only if it explicitly embodied more than one of the seven basic SPMs. Each code section (or subdivision if more than one SPM was affected by the full section) was then examined to infer the presence of one or more of the values described above. No matter how many words, sentences, or paragraphs were required to detail the presence of a value within a unit of code language, only one tally for that was made for each inferred value. Consequently, each tally was a measure of a value's presence within each unit of analysis, within the unit.

This tally process was applied to each of the four of values in relation to each of the seven SPMs explored in chapter 3, summarized by categories for each state, and analyzed for their relevance to our central themes. For each of the three investigators on the research team, the tallying was done by a research assistant, with regular evaluation of sample tallies. There are great difficulties in this process -- changing research assistants, misunderstandings of how statutes should be interpreted or of instructions, and so on. Despite these problems, however, results led us to decide that in two states the inter-coder agreement was very high -- Illinois and Wisconsin. Their selection was useful because each represented a distinctively different political culture (explored in chapter 6) which might serve to explain code differences.

The Distribution of Values: Introduction

We begin with some summary comparisons before moving to more detailed category analysis. Table 1 displays the distribution of the four major values across the two states. The dominance of Efficiency is our first clue that policymakers are motivated by the need to control whatever programs they think desirable and by the concern to account for all allocations of authority. These needs flow first from the constitutional dominance of state authority in education; the legislature is the single source of policy authority

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Insert Table 5-1 about here

Table 5-1

Cumulative Distribution of Values by States

	N	Quality	Equity	Efficiency	Choice
IL	1,190	19.3	19.0	48.2	13.5 = 100%
WI	401	18.4	27.2	36.2	18.2

in this and other policy worlds. But also, the need for control arises from policymakers' awareness of the popular desire for control of power which Efficiency code references attempt. Tension between the participatory and rational bases for injection Efficiency into policymaking, generates much of the politics of American education, as we noted earlier.

Educational Values and Political Culture

Table 5-1 also suggests, however, states differ substantially in their preferences for various policy values. In Illinois, Efficiency dominates the code absolutely, with the other three values about equally distributed. This dominance rests upon the prevalence of accountability provisions designed to control the use of power. That is, Illinois policymakers have tried to ensure that any responsibility granted to state or local school authorities is held accountable to those over whom it is exercised. In Illinois, power granted has meant power checked.

Political history helps explain this distribution. Illinois has been a state in the Individualistic political culture, characterized by fragmentation of power, high conflict between parties and regions, political corruption,a citizen sense of politics as "dirty," and so on. Consequently, making grants of authority accountable reflects the reformist effort against these practices; such controls appear in detailed reporting systems and publicity requirements for decisionmaking by local districts. Another element of the political culture has been Illinois's considerable localism, a suspicion of state control over local school systems. Hence, the prevalence of accountability controls in state mandates is consonant with this localism.

Wisconsin, possessed of a Moralistic culture, presents another pattern. Here, while Efficiency leads other values, its proportion is considerably less than in Illinois. Much more Equity, and somewhat more Choice exists in this state. We can infer that Efficiency and Equity are responses to different influences in Wisconsin's history. Efficiency reflects the need to ensure that policies are created and administered in an accountable fashion; that is also true of Illinois. But Equity responds to a special theme in Wisconsin's culture -- political power is to be used positively to improve citizen's lives by redistributive policy which aids the less fortunate. Also, voters are to have policy choices to vote upon (initiative and referendum was pioneered in this state). The state's "squeaky clean" reputation, often cited in others' research (Pierce and Hagstrom, 1983), was evident in expressions given in our field work and in its policy elite's answers to the political culture scale analyzed in the next chapter.

These comments exemplify the conditions in Wisconsin. That is, laws are ultimately statements about the particular values that are to dominate in a political system. Consequently, the different distributions of the values seen in Table 5-1 support the inference that variations in political institutions and political history have consequences for the kinds of policy that are produced. For example, Wisconsin's Moralistic concern that politics be used to improve the common weal and that citizens should play an active part in that action can be inferred to lie behind its dominant values. That is, Efficiency not only protects against abuse of power -- the accountability aspect -- but it can also be built into quality educational programs and effective decisional mechanisms. Equity underlies the use of power to redress social imbalances in the conditions of society, in this case, those of the young. In Illinois, on the other hand, the dominance of Efficiency reflects much more a basic distrust of the political system. We will note later how the dominance of this value in certain SPMs supports this inference.

The Distribution of Values within the SPMs

Each of the seven state policy mechanisms by which education is provided reflected each of the four values in this study. It can be assumed that, without some intervening influence, the four would be distributed equally within each of the seven SPMs. As the data reveal, such intervening influences must be present since values are far from evenly distributed. To address them, each column in Table 5-2 shows the frequency distribution within each state of each value across the SPMs whose substantive meanings are explored in chapter III). For example, the first column shows how all the Quality values were distributed among the seven SPMs, in the Illinois code, and the second in Wisconsin's. As is immediately obvious, there is no equal distribution of any of these values in either state. Some SPMs embody little of the four values. Student Testing and Assessment and Curriculum Materials for example, have both few code provisions and a combined total of only two choice value expressions. Without an equal distribution, then, the inference about the influence of intervening factors can be further explored.

Insert Table 5-2 about here

Political Culture Influences. If a state's political culture were an intervening factor, then we should expect to see two states of different cultures to have a different frequency distribution. In Table 5-2, we have underlined in each column the largest percentage received by any SPM. For three of the four values the two states contrast in their value distributions but are similar in a fourth value. A single SPM -- Program Definition -- accounts for a majority or plurality of all Quality, Choice, and Equity code references in Wisconsin. Illinois, however, Personnel policies have the most Quality references, while Organization and Governance receive the largest share of Equity and Choice value expressions. The Moralistic state of Wisconsin strongly emphasizes its Program provisions with three values.

The distributions of the Efficiency value enactments cannot be explained by culture, however. Efficiency dominates the codes of both states (see Table 5-1) and loads heaviest on Governance in both states (Table 5-2). What may explain this commonality is the pre-occupation in democracy with the control of power which the accountability portions of Efficiency seek.

Table 5-2

Distribution of SPMs by Values and States

	Quality		Equity	
SPM	IL	WI	IL	WI
Finance	7	9	12	17
Personnel	30	12	14	8
Testing & Assessment	4	--	4	3
Program Definition	26	53	22	40
Organization & Governance	19	15	34	19
Curriculum Materials	3	1	5	--
Buildings & Facilities	12	9	10	6
	100%			

	Efficiency		Choice	
	IL	WI	IL	WI
Finance	31	17	27	18
Personnel	6	8	6	1
Testing & Assessment	--	2	1	--
Program Definition	5	23	22	38
Organization & Governance	51	43	25	33
Curriculum Materials	1	--	3	3
Buildings & Facilities	5	6	16	6
	100%			

Within-State Distributions

A clearer picture of how each state's code reflects these four values will demonstrate great variation in their distribution among SPMs. (The limited code attention given to Student Testing and to Curriculum Materials, is omitted from the following analysis.) In Illinois, for example, Table 5-3 shows that over half the Quality tallies appeared for just two SPMs -- Personnel and Program. As part of the national reform surge, the 1984-85 additions to the Illinois code would add some more language to these two. However, the distribution for Equity in Illinois is much different, concentrating most on Governance and secondarily on Program. Efficiency tallies, accounting for almost half of all code references in this state, loads almost half of these on Governance, and most of the rest on Finance. One-quarter of all Illinois code references fell into the category of Efficiency -- Governance.

Insert Table 5-3 about here

This last finding reinforces the perception gained in field work and expressed by other writers of a pervasive and typical distrust of political authority in Illinois. Not surprisingly, then, these code references involve an extensive and exquisite detailing of who may do what, when, and how -- all for the purpose of checking against the abuse of educational authority. That is, few of the Efficiency provisions are of the economic type --

Table 5-3

Distribution of Values Among the SPMs of Illinois

	Quality	Equity	Efficiency	Choice	N	N
Total %	19	19	48	14	=100%	=100
N	230	226	573	161	1,190	401
SPMs						
Finance	7	12	31	27	265	70
Personnel	30	14	6	6	146	31
Testing & Assessment	4	4	--	1	20	6
Program Definition	26	22	5	23	174	146
Organization & Governance	19	34	51	25	450	119
Curriculum Materials	3	5	1	3	31	3
Buildings & Facilities	12	10	5	16	104	26
	100%					

requiring formulas for carrying out tasks -- but rather they emphasize the accountability type. That result is further enhanced by the large amount of attention given to Efficiency in Finance provisions, again a detailed control over the raising and spending of public monies.

Another cultural concern Illinois arises in the Choice column of Table 5-3. Motivated by a fear of authority, Choice provisions extend across three SPMs in about the same percentage -- Finance, Governance, and Program -- while the Facilities percentage is not far behind. Thus, what is ensured by these Choice provisions recorded here is local control, which, after all, is partly a fear of state authority. Typically, Choice references are requirements for certain groups to be represented on local boards (Governance), for tax levy or bond options to raise money to support federal programs (Finance), and for options for special curricula or special schools (Program). Little curriculum has been mandated by Illinois (until 1985, only physical education), so much of this authority was left expressly to the districts. Of course, state requirements in 1985 for science, math, English, and social sciences -- following the national reform current -- has changed this. Finally, while Choice accounted for the fewest code references in Illinois, this is a case -- as with all the states -- where examining written statutes is misleading. The absence of state mandates tells us something, in this case, the influence of localism in keeping state mandates out of statues.

Turning to Wisconsin, while location is still important, we see indications of another way of viewing political authority. The distribution of case values, seen in Table 5-4, shows that they are much more likely concentrated on one SPM for any value, rather than being scattered. Thus Quality is concentrated in Program provisions (much different from Illinois), which points to a much larger role for state mandates in school programs. That, in turn, reflects the influence of professionals at the state level (we will see in Chapter IX the unusual influence given to Wisconsin's chief state school officer and school lobbies in policy making). But this state does not go so far in extending professional influence as to dictate Curriculum Materials; only three such provisions appear in this state's entire code. But this statutory reinforcement of professionals in other matters testifies to another aspect of the state's Moralistic culture. That is the use of political authority, through law and regulation, to provide general public services for citizens.

Insert Table 5-4 about here

A related element of that political culture appears in the amount of the state's code reflecting Equity, more than in other states (Table 5-1). Again, most references to this value are concentrated on Program Definition policies, where, characteristically, resources are used for those who fall below educational norms. More than in Illinois, Equity looms large in

Table 5-4

Distribution of Values Among the SPMs of Wisconsin

	Quality	Equity	Efficiency	Choice	N
Total %	18	27	36	18	=100%
N	74	109	145	73	401
SPMs					
Finance	9	23	17	18	70
Personnel	12	8	8	1	31
Testing & Assessment	--	3	2	--	6
Program Definition	53	40	23	38	146
Organization & Governance	15	19	43	33	119
Curriculum Materials	1	--	--	3	3
Buildings & Facilities	9	6	6	6	26
	100%				

Finance provisions, which is seen in funding for programs designed to narrow the norms-needs gap. Both Program Definition and Finance SPMs show signs of a state policy elite motivated to use authority to serve a widely perceived common good -- better education.

In Wisconsin Efficiency values are concentrated on Governance. Here is seen the familiar detailing of structure and process in local decision making in order both to facilitate citizen participation and to protect against abuse of political authority. As noted, this encouragement of citizen participation is another aspect of the Moralistic culture. More than in Illinois, Wisconsin infuses its Program provisions with the value of Efficiency. These are efforts to ensure that state-mandated programs and formula-based resources are followed through reporting requirements.

Finally, Wisconsin has a bit more of its code reflecting Choice values than in Illinois, but these are spread among the SPMs more than for other values. Thus, about one-third each of Choice values appears in Program and in Governance. Typically, Choice is provided for pupils in some kinds of curricula, for voters using referenda (a practice pioneered in this state) on taxes, and for voting for local school board members. Note how all three are linked to Wisconsin's cultural emphasis upon citizen participation.

Summary

The distribution of values across three sample states shows clearly that Efficiency dominates, although it looms larger in Illinois. Equity is half again as important in Wisconsin, but

Quality provisions are very similar. Choice accounts for the fewest code provisions in both states (a bit more exists in Wisconsin), which may reflect the nature of statutory language, or perhaps professional influence in shaping education towards their goals.

Interstate analysis of these value distributions infers much about the linkage between value preferences and state policy mechanism choices. Distrust of political authority in Illinois, for example, results in many Efficiency values, which by definition restrain the exercise of authority in Governance. On the other hand, Wisconsin seeks Quality mostly through Program, while Illinois seeks it in expansive Personnel requirements. Equity is pursued in Wisconsin primarily through Program Definition -- indicative of professional dominance from the state level -- but in Illinois it is found primarily in Governance, policies aimed at wining local control. Choice -- based on a preference for citizen control -- is diffused in the Illinois code in three SPMs, but it is restricted to two SPMs in Wisconsin. These contrasts typify the kind of variation found in using law to reflect dominant political values that the mosaic of American federalism generates.

The Weight of Values within SPMs

The preceding analyzed the weight or distribution of SPMs within each of the four major values. Reversing the analysis, that is, examining the weight of values within each of the SPM, will provide insight into the value basis of these fundamental instruments for providing educational services. We might presume that Efficiency would be basic to Finance policy (to control the use of public monies and to provide formula-based programs), or that concern for Quality would underlie Program Definition. Analysis of the distribution of these values by SPMs and by states enables us to test those assumptions.

The Overall Picture

Table 5-5 displays the distribution of the SPMs references in the two states. It is immediately evident that there are some distinctive similarities in the clustering of these figures.

Insert Table 5-5 about here

For example, Governance receives the most code attention in Illinois and is second highest in Wisconsin. Also, two values account for half or more all provisions. In Illinois it is Governance and Finance (60%), and in Wisconsin Program Definition and Governance (66%). On the other hand, Testing and Curriculum Materials receive remarkably little provision in either state. Strikingly, the rank order of these SPMs among the two states is high; the Rho coefficient is +.86. One inference evident even at this gross level is that states have somewhat similar priorities in legislating their educational SPMs. They greatly stress Governance, moderately provide for Program and Finance, and skimp Testing and Curriculum Materials.

Within each of those SPMs, however, what is their priority in values? The cumulative picture is shown in Table 5-6, where the

Table 5-5

Distribution of SPMs by States

	IL	WI
Finance	22	17
Personnel	12	8
Testing & Assessment	2	2
Program Definition	15	36
Organization & Governance	38	30
Curriculum Materials	3	1
Buildings & Facilities	9	6
	100%	
N	1,190	401

distribution of each SPM for the four values is shown for each state. For example, across the first row, we can see the proportion of each value in the Finance SPM for each state; the percentages for each value are grouped by state for comparison.

Insert Table 5-6 about here

The conclusions are that:

1. Finance and Governance are dominated by the Efficiency value in the Individualistic culture of Illinois; moralistic Wisconsin stresses Equity as well.

2. Personnel is dominated by the Quality value in Illinois, but by Efficiency in Wisconsin.

3. Program is split among Quality and Equity in Illinois and among all four values in Wisconsin.

4. Governance is heavily concentrated on Efficiency in Illinois and Wisconsin.

5. Facilities provisions are spread evenly among all values in both states.

6. The very small total tallies for Testing and Curriculum Materials make the percentages distorted, and so are not analyzed further here.

These findings challenge simple assumptions about the single-value basis of any SPM, because the expected values do not appear generally in all states. Personnel and Program Definition seem rooted in notions of improving the quality of education;

Table 5-6

Distribution of Values by SPMs and States

	Quality		Equity	
SPM	IL	WI	IL	WI
Finance	6	10	9	36
Personnel	47	29	22	29
Testing & Assessment	45	--	45	50
Program Definition	34	27	28	30
Organization & Governance	10	9	17	18
Curriculum Materials	23	33	39	--
Buildings & Facilities	26	27	21	27

	Efficiency		Choice		
	IL	WI	IL	WI	
Finance	68	36	16	19	= 100%
Personnel	25	39	7	3	
Testing & Assessment	--	50	10	--	
Program Definition	17	23	21	20	
Organization & Governance	64	53	9	20	
Curriculum Materials	23	--	16	67	
Buildings & Facilities	29	31	24	15	

indeed, Quality provisions for these two SPMs do dominate in Illinois but not in Wisconsin. Finance is presumably oriented to Efficiency, but, again, Wisconsin loads this SPM just as heavily with Equity considerations. Governance should focus upon Efficiency and Choice, but Illinois and Wisconsin focus only upon Efficiency. Facilities should deal with Efficiency concerns, but the two states spread this SPM among all the values.

State Profile of Values with SPMs

Clearly then, conditions distinctive to these states' cultures and a political systems must contribute to such differentiation in the value basis of these SPMs. Each state must share some common value concerns--the dominance of Governance and of Efficiency are illustrative. But states also have distinctive concerns, for example, Wisconsin's concern for Equity but low interest in Personnel. Given such distinctive influences among the states, it would be useful to profile each state's distribution of values within each SPM. Tables 5-7 and 5-8 set out these profiles for the two states for which we can provide some code examples of values within SPMs.

Insert Table 5-7 & 5-8 about here

Illinois. Governance (38% of all provisions) and Finance (22%) dominate this state's code. In both SPMs, Efficiency accounts for about two-thirds all tallies. Personnel loads heavily upon Quality, while Program relies upon both it and Equity.

Table 5-7

Distribution of Values by SPMs in Illinois

SPMs	Quality	Equity	Efficiency	Choice	
Finance	6	9	68	16	=100%
Personnel	47	22	25	7	
Testing & Assessment	45	45	--	10	
Program Definition	34	28	17	21	
Organization & Governance	10	17	64	9	
Curriculum Materials	23	39	23	16	
Buildings & Facilities	26	21	29	24	

Table 5-8

Distribution of Values by SPMs in Wisconsin

SPMs	Quality	Equity	Efficiency	Choice		
Finance	10	36	36	19	=	100%
Personnel	29	29	39	3		
Testing & Assessment	--	50	50	--		
Program Definition	27	30	23	20		
Organization & Governance	9	18	53	20		
Curriculum Materials	33	--	--	67		
Buildings & Facilities	27	27	31	15		

Facilities is the SPM most balanced among all values. Little attention is given to Testing and Curriculum Materials (4%).

Wisconsin. Program (36%) and Governance (30%) dominate this state's code. The first SPM is spread rather evenly among the values unlike Illinois), but the second loads heavily upon Efficiency. Finance gets limited code attention, with Equity and Efficiency equally dominant in it. The remaining four SPMs attract a total of only 16 percent of the total code.

To illustrate every combination of SPMs and values in states (that is, 56 examples) would confuse more than add to understanding. But not untypical examples from one state -- Illinois -- will provide an appreciation of the way in which these values are implicit in SPMs. These are set out in Exhibit 5-1.

Insert Exhibit 5-1 about here

Note how some sections infer the presence of more than one value (recall that both are entered as separate tallies). The percentages for any SPM provide a rough sense of what values get priority, and the exact wording (edited slightly for clarity) demonstrates the care needed to specify legislative purposes and processes. Behind these extracts lie a mass of wordage designed to flesh out purpose and process, something hinted at in the Program-Quality and the Governance-Efficiency examples.

Summary

Clarifying the role of values in educational policy making takes many routes -- understanding their operation in the perceptions and program judgments of policy makers, sensing the influence world in which these actors perform, and so on. In this chapter we have explored a source of values that lies in authoritatively legitimated public policies of the states -- their education statutes. These were passed at different times in the states' history, of course, but in combination, they represent the accumulated record of policy value preferences within each state.

From this accumulated record four major values can be identified: Choice, Equity, Efficiency, and Quality. As the first section pointed out, there is considerable difference among these values in their inherent meaning, differences even in how they are sequenced into the body of law. There is also variation among the states in how these code values are distributed across our seven SPMs and in how the SPMs are differently constituted by code values. Some of that difference may well rest in the distinctive political culture that policy makers bring to their tasks; the contrasts between Illinois and Wisconsin are striking evidence. However, there also exist common approaches to these values, as both states must make use of Efficiency to strengthen their democratic accountability and to distribute their resources rationally.

Consequently, just as chapter 1 showed in general terms that there are differences and commonalities in the environment within which state education policy making proceeds, this chapter demonstrates specific similar and dissimilar features of education law and their inherent values. That same search for both patterns will illuminate the next chapter's examination of policymakers' perceptions of their states' political culture and the consequences that has for different policy choices.

Exhibit 5-1

Illustrations of Values in SPMs in Illinois*

(Within each SPM, values are presented in order of frequency, noted by %)

FINANCE

Efficiency. (68%) [Economic type] [Tax rates are set for] districts maintaining only grades 1-8 [at] .92% for educational purposes and [at] .25% for operations, building and maintenance purposes. [17-2(1)] (Accountable type) [Districts under 100,000 population may tax annually] at not to exceed the maximum rates and for the specified purposes. (17-2).

Choice. (16%) [All districts under 500,000--all but Chicago] may, by a proper resolution, cause a proposition to increase the annual tax rate for educational purposes to be submitted to the voters...(17-3).

Equity. (9%) [When 5% or more of a district's pupils have parent working for the state, the Superintendent of Public Instruction] semi-annually shall direct the State Comptroller to pay an amount sufficient to pay 1/4 the annual tuition cost of such children...(18-4.2).

Quality. (6%) [School boards may] levy an annual tax...used only for maintenance of health care facilities and to provide primary health care...(17-2.2b)

PERSONNEL

Quality. (47%) [Teachers and supervisors must be] of good character, good health, a citizen of the United States [and hold] a certificate of qualification granted by the State Board of Education or by the State Certification Board...(21-1).

Efficiency. (25%) [Each teacher must] keep daily registers...of each pupil [to be returned] to the clerk or secretary of the school board. [If not, none] shall be paid any part of the school funds...(24-18).

Equity. (22%) [Forbids a ban against certification, training, or teaching] because of a physical handicap including but not limited to visual and hearing handicaps. (21-1).

Choice. (7%) [School boards may] examine teachers by examinations supplemental to any other examinations...(10-21.1).

TESTING AND ASSESSMENT

(Least tallied SPM (2%), no Efficiency values and only 2 Choice values.)

Quality. (45%) [School boards] may require teachers in their employ to furnish from time to time evidence of continued professional growth. (24.5).

Equity. (45%) [For a high school equivalency testing program, regional superintendents] may establish and supervise a center or centers to administer [the tests] to qualified persons. (3-15.12).

Choice. (10%) [If local professionals review a mentally handicapped pupil for placement] the school district shall inform the parent or guardian of the child of the opportunity to obtain an independent evaluation at public expense if the parent disagrees with [its] evaluation...(14-8.02).

PROGRAM DEFINITION

Quality. (34%) History of the United States shall be taught in all public schools....[There follows a set of objectives and 13 ethnic groups whose roles will be studied] No pupils shall be graduated from the eighth grade...unless he [sic] has received such instructions... and given evidence of having a comprehensive knowledge thereof. (27-21).

Equity. (28%) [Creates a department of transitional bilingual education to build resources that] are or could be directed towards meeting the language capacity needs of children and adults of limited English-speaking ability residing in the State. [2-3.39 (2)].

Choice. (21%) Every school established under this Act shall be for instruction...as the school board, or the others of the district at a regular scheduled election of the school board members, may prescribe. (27-1).

Efficiency. (17%) [Districts may experiment with a full-year school plan, but it must be] approved by the State Board of Education [to ensure] that a student's required attendance shall be for a minimum of 180 days of actual attendance [but not over 185 days]. (10-19.1).

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNANCE

Efficiency. (64%) [The state is] to formulate and approve forms, procedures and regulations for school district accounts and budgets [followed by a 174-words single sentence specifying this meaning]. (2-3-.27).

Equity. (17%) [In changing local attendance units, the school board] will take into consideration the prevention of segregation an the elimination of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality. (10-21.3).

Quality. (10%) [The state is mandated] to determine for all types of schools...efficiency and adequate standards for [15 major elements of school plant, operation, and services, which are tied to the recognition of schools for meeting such standards]. (2-3.25).

Choice. (9%) The school board may enter into agreements with employees or representatives of employees to resolve disputes or grievances by binding arbitration....(10-12.4a).

CURRICULUM MATERIALS

Equity. (39%) [Creates an] educational material coordinating unit [for the] improvement of instructional programs for handicapped children and the in-service training of professional personnel...(14-11.01).

Quality. (23%) [Locally developed materials] adopted by any board...shall be used exclusively in all public high schools and elementary schools for which they have been adopted....(28-6).

Efficiency. (23%) [Among conditions of public accountability placed on publishers of materials doing business in the state, one is that they must] reduce such net prices [on certain materials] in Illinois whenever they are reduced elsewhere in the United States. (28-1).

Choice. (16%) The school board may...order submitted to the voters...the question of furnishing free school textbooks for the use of pupils...(28-12).

BUILDINGS AND FACILITIES

Efficiency. (29%) [Accountable type: ads for bids and bid adoption procedures must appear in a local newspaper] once each week for three successive weeks [before] the bids are opened....[Economic type found in formulas for estimating classroom costs for three levels of school grades.] (35-10).

Quality. (26%) [School sites] shall have a minimum of four acres and one additional acre [under certain conditions]. (35-8).

Choice. (24%) Whenever the school board members consider such actions advisable and in the best interests of the school district [they may] lease vacant school property [to private groups caring for the mentally handicapped or for educating the gifted pupil. But his action must be supported by a referendum of voters].

Equity. (21%) To expedite the replacement or reconstruction of school buildings destroyed or damaged...by nature, [a state commission] may use up to $1,850,000 [an amount later increased, for the district's needs). (35-12.1).

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CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL CULTURE VALUES OF STATE EDUCATION POLICYMAKERS

Cultural Perspectives on Values

An explicit assumption in this study has been that Americans do not all share similar values about education -- or almost any other policy. There is no mass American, but rather differences about how a public policy is to be financed, implemented, and evaluated. One source of such differences lies in personal attributes -- status, gender, race, and so on -- which cause different judgments of needs to policymaking. Typical of this approach is the annual Gallup polls on the state of education conducted for Phi Delta Kappa. While there is much use in studying education values this way, it tell us little about the values motivating those who make policy. In this project, those values from the past appear in statutes (chapter V) and from the present in judgments about contemporary policy issues (chapters III-IV). We have noted already, however, that personal attributes of policy makers do not fully account for differences in policy judgments (see chapter II).

One possible explanation of differences lies in the culture in which policymakers live. Let us first be clear about this basic term, culture. As an explanation of human institutions and human behavior, culture is a concept rooted in social anthropology. Its central thrust has been that humans are socialized to accept particular behaviors and beliefs that are appropriate for the values dominant in a given society. The pioneering work of Frank Boas was later given wide currency by the popular reports of "primitive" cultures by Margaret Mead (1928) and Ruth Benedict (1934). Here we see institutions prescribing roles to its members for all the diverse functional tasks of living together and surviving in the face of an often hostile natural and social world. But we also see that the precise content of roles and values vary with the society studied, that in Benedict's phrase, there are "patterns of culture."

A parallel intellectual development was the belief emerging from the late 19th century that each of the major "civilized" nations possessed a "national character." Here, students of national politics ascribed prototypical behavior to each nation and its citizens, with consequences for how that nation operated in the world of international politics. This notion of "enduring personality and life styles" (Inkeles, and Levinson, 1954) to be found in each nation was thought to explain international behavior, because behavior was traced to national socialization to distinctive values and actions by dominant institutions.

Political Culture and the American States

How would such learning apply to political behavior within the nation? Answering that query began with the pioneering ideas of

Gabriel Almond (1956) and developed during the 1960's out of Americans' interest in the differences among democracies (Almond and Verba, 1963) and among the developing nations (Pye and Verba, 1965). This political culture was conceptualized as an influence shaping both action and values within a political system. The concept was defined broadly as:

> The set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. [It] is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of that system, and thus it is rooted equally in public events and private experiences (Pye, 1968, p. 218).

This concept has aided greatly in explaining differences among nation-states, and specialists in the states of the American polity quickly asked whether it might have application to their units of analysis. More importantly, if the root values could be tapped with this concept, that is, if one could find those values "which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system" of the state, would differences in such cultures help explain the obvious differences among their public policies? V. O. Key (1949) shortly after World War II noted how Southern cultural patterns produced a distinctive kind of Southern politics with its unique focus race. As poll data became more available and extensive, different analysts noted regional patterns of political attitudes, enough to enable one to infer the existence of distinctive political cultures (Patterson, 1968).

The Elazar Model of Political Culture

The application of this concept to the American states which has had most use derived from the work of Daniel Elazar, from his seminal statement of such a theory (1966) and its in-depth exploration in the midwest (1970). He defined political culture simply as "the particular pattern of orientation to political action in which each political system is embedded" (1984, p. 109). Three aspects of political culture were crucial for understanding how such ideas shaped governing:

1. the set of perceptions of what politics is and what can be expected from government, held by both the general public and the politicians;
2. the kinds of people who become active in government and politics, as holders of elective offices, members of the bureaucracy, and active political workers;
3. the actual way in which the art of government is practiced by citizens, politicians, and public officials in the light of their perceptions (1984, p. 112).

These perceptions and values did not lead one to expect there would be a uniform political culture in America, because our political ideology contained certain contradictions which could lead to different cultural expectations of the political system. Some citizens expect the political system to maintain and protect the existing political order, others see the political system as a place where individual welfare can be pursued, and yet others see it as a means for helping everyone live a better life. These threefold and contrasting ideas are concentrated in different geographical locations throughout our country. Local institutions reinforce these ideas for successive generations and infuse them into their political practices.

There has been much work on the historical origins of such differences. Cultural origins have been found in the different streams of migrants and immigrants moving into and across the country. These streams brought different value systems to different locales. Scholars have traced these flows of persons; especially of their religions which are seen as a strong underlying factor, in regional cultures (see separate analyses in Elazar and Zikmund, 1975). Geographers have found that state and regional diversity existed in a wide variety of behaviors, including the political and religious (Gastil, 1975; Zelinsky, 1973; Gausted, 1962). Political scholars have sought and found interstate correlations between religions and policy outputs (Fairbanks, 1977; Hutcheson and Taylor, 1973; Sweet, 1952).

Underlying these political culture differences in Elazar's model are three distinctive types of behavior, perception, and value -- with consequent differences for their political systems. We will sketch these briefly and then detail how each culture views particular objects in the political world.

Traditionalistic Political Culture (Traditionalist PC)

Traditionalists see the main function of government as maintaining established patterns of life through control by a governing elite. (Traditionalist cultures are usually strongest in agricultural societies.) Political partisanship is subordinated to personal ties among the elite. Traditionalist PCs initiate new programs only if they serve the interests of the governing elite. Bureaucracy is viewed negatively, because it seeks to depersonalize governance by applying universalistic and rational norms to political relationships. Hence Traditionalist PCs prefer no merit system; relying instead on direct control of government functionaries by the elite.

In Traditionalist PCs, politics is viewed as a privilege. However, only those with claims to office that are "legitimate" are eligible to participate, which means only the elite or those they control. Moreover, parties are to be avoided. They are prone to recruit the wrong people to power, and have a tendency to substitute ideological principles for the interpersonal loyalties needed for support elite role. Consequently, political competition is to be avoided, or at least oriented to elite values, which means a one-party system. We can recognize in Traditionalist PCs the host of small communities and states dominated by the elite of a single-basis industry or agriculture; such places have traditionally ignored new needs and challenges, assured that their rule is for the good of all.

Individualistic Political Culture (Individualistic PC)

Where Traditionalistic PCs defines the public good in elitist terms, in Individualistic PCs that good is defined on the basis of individual interest. Government, like the economy, is seen as a kind of marketplace, designed to enable citizens to pursue improvement of their own improving one's individual lots. Government's proper role is to promote economic development, for the economy is restricted to private initiative; those who enter the marketplace in both the government and economy respond to two sources. One is public opinion (the collective mobilization of individual demands) focused through a strong political party; the second are the entrepreneurs who possess economic resources needing development (they, too, work best with an organized party that can make governmental arrangements). Bureaucracy is a problem in Individualist PCs; when efficient, it is responding to rational norms that can end up constraining favors to private entrepreneurs.

As for politics, in the Individualist PCs it is a dirty business, left to lesser persons willing to wallow in it; so politics should be participated in by professional politicians. However, parties are good. They help mobilize and focus individual interests, and they act like business organizations (distributing rewards to the loyal or penalties to the opponents); therefore, the party should be cohesive. Party competition should be expected, of course, but it should not be competition over issues (opponents to entrepreneurs can too easily be mobilized) but over winning public office. In short, competition is directed to winning which will bring the material favors that inhere in office. "To the victor belongs the spoils" is an archetypical Individualist PC concept.

In Individualist PCs we recognize the strong party machines so long identified with big cities (although rural Individual PC machines may have been even more extensive). On the urban scene, party and business work together to foster urban development. Economic expansion is pursued for the jobs and profit it brings, and faithful party members are mobilized in campaigns designed only to defeat the other party. Unquestioning loyalty to party becomes the touchstone of political life, for only in unity can each be best rewarded.

Moralistic Political Culture (Moralist PC)

In Moralist PCs a totally different perspective emerges because government is seen basically as an instrument of "commonwealth," a means of achieving a good for all the community (or state) through government's positive actions. Moralist PC adherents prefer that government not act (they share Jefferson's, "that government governs best which governs least"). But if the need for governmental action exists it should be used to enhance any area of community life. The primary need is for economic regulation to protect all against excesses of the private marketplace, but Moralist PCs also see the need for regulation of other private sectors to provide social order and communal benefit. Consequently, government is expected to act even without public clamor when leaders believe action is needed in the public interest. Not surprisingly, then, bureaucracy is viewed favorably because its basic neutrality and competence can be employed for the common good; indeed, to ensure those desirable qualities, merit systems should be enforced.

In Moralist PCs, then, politics is a good and healthy activity in which all citizens should be engaged. Parties are means of defining and pursuing the public interest, and even third parties are encouraged if the major parties fail to respond to public concerns. In short, loyalty to party is of less importance than to principles and issues which affect the public good. Party competition, therefore, should take place over such issues and should be oriented to winning. The goal is not jobs that victory brings but the chance to devise policies that will promote the common weal. Moralist PC has been the source of most reforms of the political, economic, and social subsystems throughout our history. Government and politics are good means to even better ends for everyone. But if the existing means are achieving bad ends, Moralist PC seeks to change both.

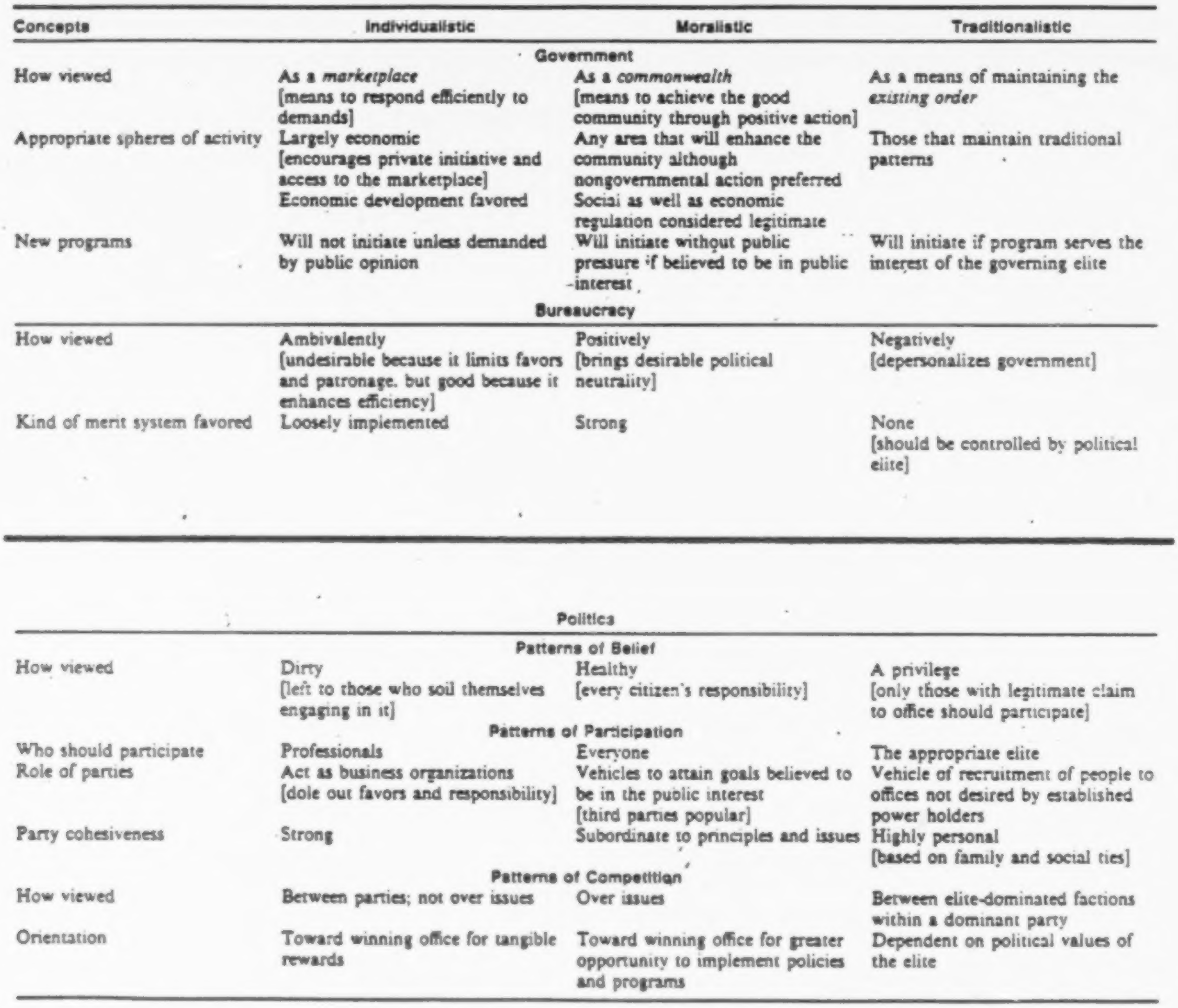
Table 6-1 draws together the diverse strands of these three cultures for focused presentation, and we shall shortly turn to demonstrating these items' utility in the present research.

Insert Table 6-1 about here

Are Differences in Culture and Policy Related?

While this concept has intrinsic interest for explaining the differences in cultural life among Americans, there is a greater utility if these differences could explain variations in public policy among the 50 states. Recent research shows that these three cultures, derived from historical roots (Elazar, 1975, parts 2-3, Appendices), are indeed associated with differences in policies and politics. When political culture is operationalized as an interval measure (Sharkansky, 1969), it can be used as an independent variable in multi-variate analyses policy outputs.

TABLE 6-1. Characteristics of Three Published Cultures



Concepts	Individualistic	Moralistic	Traditionalistic
		Government	
How viewed	As a *marketplace* [means to respond efficiently to demands]	As a *commonwealth* [means to achieve the good community through positive action]	As a means of maintaining the *existing order*
Appropriate spheres of activity	Largely economic [encourages private initiative and access to the marketplace] Economic development favored	Any area that will enhance the community although nongovernmental action preferred Social as well as economic regulation considered legitimate	Those that maintain traditional patterns
New programs	Will not initiate unless demanded by public opinion	Will initiate without public pressure if believed to be in public interest	Will initiate if program serves the interest of the governing elite
		Bureaucracy	
How viewed	Ambivalently [undesirable because it limits favors and patronage, but good because it enhances efficiency]	Positively [brings desirable political neutrality]	Negatively [depersonalizes government]
Kind of merit system favored	Loosely implemented	Strong	None [should be controlled by political elite]
		Politics	
		Patterns of Belief	
How viewed	Dirty [left to those who soil themselves engaging in it]	Healthy [every citizen's responsibility]	A privilege [only those with legitimate claim to office should participate]
		Patterns of Participation	
Who should participate	Professionals	Everyone	The appropriate elite
Role of parties	Act as business organizations [dole out favors and responsibility]	Vehicles to attain goals believed to be in the public interest [third parties popular]	Vehicle of recruitment of people to offices not desired by established power holders
Party cohesiveness	Strong	Subordinate to principles and issues	Highly personal [based on family and social ties]
		Patterns of Competition	
How viewed	Between parties; not over issues	Over issues	Between elite-dominated factions within a dominant party
Orientation	Toward winning office for tangible rewards	Toward winning office for greater opportunity to implement policies and programs	Dependent on political values of the elite

Source: Elazar, 1984, pp. 120-21.

We restrict our literature review only to those studies employing aggregate data and multivariate analysis in all states or in multiple units of government. The striking finding is that such studies regularly report that Elazar's three cultures were the key variables that explained:

1. Party competition and citizen's sense of political efficacy (Hanson, 1980).
2. Citizen attitudes about participation, trust in government, and governmental intervention (Josyln, 1980).
3. State senators' attitudes toward social and economic welfare and corruption (Welch and Peters, 1980).
4. The extent of state vs. local control of schools as reflected in state laws (Wirt, 1980).
5. The quality of urban life as reflected in indicators of SMSA's (Kincaid, 1980).
6. Teacher-pupil ratios, volume of government employment, and local income taxes among Indiana counties (Lovrich et al., 1980).
7. A number of other state policies (Johnson, 1976).

The validity of the political culture explanation has been strengthened by testing alternative explanations of observed policy or attitudinal differences, such as socio-economic indicators of state resources. The political culture explanation holds up in path and regression analyses.

In sum, cultural differences seem to be associated with policy differences in the direction that this theory would predict. Consequently, these offer our research an alternative explanation for education policy values to match with the familiar socio-economic factors.

The Measurement of Political Culture Linkages in Theory

Measurement should flow from theory, of course, and when seeking to explain the values of state education policy makers, we assume the following empirical conclusions drawn from theory:

1. Policymakers share some or most of the elements of their state's political cultures. Election theory research confirms that not many candidates get elected to public office by flaunting the political mores of their electing unit.

2. Policymakers are aware of dominant features of their political cultures. Mass-elite linkage theory confirms that the political experience needed to become policymakers means that they have knowledge of what the general public believes about such broad aspects of the political system as parties, government, bureaucracy, and so on. Again, the theoretical motivation for this elite is their desire to gain and retain political position.

3. Each state has a political culture which Elazar have designated as Traditionalist, Individualist, or Moralist, or some combination, which is linked to historical events and to the socialization of values. That is, we do not designate the state's culture on our own but rather employ the research of others for that designation. Underlying this assumption is all the theory and research findings about political culture set out in the preceding section.

These empirical assumptions enable us to posit the broad hypothesis that political culture is manifested in policy makers' judgment about how their state's citizens think about political objects. A test of this proposition can be made by comparing the views of key state policymakers with Elazar's designation of their state's political culture. If the policymakers disagree sharply about their citizens' cultural views, or if they agree but in a direction contrary to the designation springing from Elazar's work, then this method of measuring political culture falls for lack of reliability and of validity -- our method would not yield results consistent with previous work designation and we could not be sure what is being measured by policymakers' reports.

Consequently, we ask of data provided by our respondents:

1. Do policymakers reports of their citizens' views on political objects cohere?
2. Are those views consistent with Elazar's designation of the states culture?
3. And, if the answer is affirmative in both cases, does the result enable us to distinguish educational values in state policy?

Methodology

The requirements for this research strategy are two-fold. First, the selection of states by culture (explained in chapter II) second, the construction of questions which would tap that culture when addressed to state education policymakers. We examine here that instrument.

The cultural labels assigned to our sample states in Elazar's work were to be tested against the judgment of educational policymakers in those states. For this purpose, a questionnaire was devised to tap the set of perceptions of what politics is and what can be expected from government, held by both the general public and the politicians (Elazar, 1984, p. 112). The politicians examined were those policymakers chosen by the process described in chapter II.

The policymakers were asked not to give their own views of cultural objects (such as purpose of government or party competition), but their perception of how people in each state generally felt about the objects. The cultural objects explored were those described in Table 6-1 alone. Eleven such objects were presented. For each one three possible answers were provided. Respondents were asked to choose the one that most closely fit the views of citizens across the state. Each of the three answers was written to fit one of the three cultures (Traditionalist, Individualist or Moralist), employing Elazar's words of Table 6-1 as closely as possible.

Illustrative is the cultural object of how government was viewed. The possible answers were:

1. something like a marketplace, where policy demands and political resources are exchanged.

Representing a Individualist cultural viewpoint,

2. means for achieving a good community through goal setting and program development.

Representing the Moralist cultural view, and

3. means of maintaining the existing social order through laws and regulations.

Representing a Traditionalist cultural view.

The logic of analysis requires that large numbers of policymakers in each state would mark answer s corresponding to the Elazar rating for their particular state. Policymakers in a Moralist state should generally prefer the second response, those in Individualist states and Traditionalist states should select, respectively, the first and third alternatives above. Across the eleven objects of cultural represented in the instruments, Moralist answers should cluster within Moralist states, Individualist answers within Individualist states, and Traditionalist answers within Traditionalist states. The eleven objects and their alternative answers appear in Table 6-2.

Insert Table 6-2 about here

Measuring Cultural Clusters

Determination that cultural agreement exists requires a measure which clusters policymakers' answers into appropriate categories, and evaluates the extent of differences among states. For this purpose we employed multiple discriminant analysis (a multivariate extension of one-way ANOVA). This technique is designed to distinguish between groups defined by a criterion variable (in this case, state-based clusters of policymakers). Group distinctions are assessed in terms of an array of dependent or discriminating variables (responses to the questions explained above). The technique identifies a linear weighting pattern for the dependent variables (answers) in a way that makes the groups (policymakers) as widely and as statistically distinct as possible.

The weighting coefficients for the discriminating variables are functions, much like the factor weights in factor analysis. Discriminant analysis also generates a score for each group which can be used in regression analysis. These functions are rotated to provide optimal separation among the groups, with the first function always providing the best discrimination possible. Viewed

Table 6-2

How Do People in Your State View Government?

Around the country, people view government and politics in different ways. These differences may affect educational policy. Would you please give us your perceptions of how people in your state feel? Please place a "1" beside the phrase that best completes each of the following statements. Place a "2" beside the second best phrase, and a "3" beside the least descriptive phrase. Remember, we are seeking your perception of how people in your state generally feel about these matters.

1. Generally speaking, government is viewed as:

____ something like a marketplace, where policy demands and political resources are exchanged.

____ a means for achieving a good community through goal setting and program development.

____ a means of maintaining the existing social order through laws and regulations.

2. The most appropriate sphere of government activity is seen as:

____ economic, i.e., support for private initiative, guaranteeing contracts, economic development, etc.

____ community enhancement, i.e., public services, community development, social and economic regulation, etc.

____ maintenance of traditional social patterns and norms, i.e., setting social standards, enforcing separation of private and public sector activity, etc.

3. Government programs are generally initiated when:

____ public demand is strong and direct.

____ political leaders identify community needs.

____ they serve the interests of those in power.

4. Governmental bureaucracies are viewed:

____ ambivalently, i.e., they are efficient but interfere with direct political control over public services.

____ positively, i.e., they insure political neutrality and effectiveness in the delivery of public services.

____ negatively, i.e., they depersonalize government and reduce overall program performance.

5. Civil service or merit systems for government employees are:

____ accepted in principle, but poorly implemented.

____ broadly supported and well implemented.

____ rejected as interfering with needed political control.

6. Generally, the public views politics as:

____ a distasteful or dirty business, left to those who are willing to engage in that sort of thing.

____ an important, healthy part of every citizen's civic duty.

____ an activity for special groups of people with unique qualifications.

7. Politics is viewed as an activity for:

____ political party professionals.

____ all citizens.

____ members of civic, economic, family, or other elite groups.

8. Political parties are seen as:

____ business organizations -- organizing political interest groups; providing rewards and assigning responsibilities.

____ issue-oriented groups -- articulating goals and mobilizing support for programs.

____ leadership recruitment agencies -- providing access for individuals who would not be supported by established power holders.

9. Membership in the political parties is:

____ pragmatic but loyal -- the parties are coalitions of interest groups.

____ subordinate to principles and issues -- creating tenuous loyalty to the parties.

____ based on historic family, ethnic, social or economic ties -- creating strong traditional loyalties to the parties.

10. Competition among the parties is:

____ active, but no over issues or ideological principles.

____ focused on issues, philosophy, or basic principles.

____ primarily between elite-dominated factions within the party.

11. The dominant aim of party competition appears to be:

____ winning offices and other tangible rewards.

____ gaining broad support for a program or policy.

____ extending the control of particular elite groups.

as axes of a geometric space, these discriminant functions can be used to map spatial relationships among the groups studied.

Aggregate Findings by States

One objective in this analysis is to determine whether the responses of policymakers consistently cluster within the political culture of a given state. Another objective is to determine which of the objects in this culture best discriminate among cultures. We turn to the first task.

Discriminant Results

Table 6-3 reports, in the top half, the mean scores of the three aggregate cultural scales for all respondents within each state. (Note that lower numbers signify higher ranking because respondents marked a "1" if the fit to the citizens was high and "3" if low.) The total mean scores for each culture type (shown near the bottom of Table 6-3 indicates that, on the average policymakers selected Individualist PC answers the most, Traditionalist PC a close second, and Moralist PC the least.

Insert Table 6-3 about here

After we allow for the overall preference for Individualistic culture responses, Table 6-3 shows that the answers fit within the Elazar's culture assignments for six states. Wisconsin was by a substantial margin the most Moralistic state, with California a distant second. Pennsylvania was the most Individualistic state with Illinois also giving preference to both this and

Table 6-3

State Means on Political Culture

(and differences between state means and the grand mean)

	Individualist		Moralist		Traditionalist		N of
STATE	Mean	(Diff)	Mean	(Diff)	Mean	(Diff)	Cases
AZ	1.73	(.00)	2.28	(.10)	2.00	(-.10)	18
CA	1.77	(.04)	2.12	(-.06)	2.11	(.01)	14
IL	1.62	(-.11)	2.43	(.25)	1.95	(-.15)	11
PA	1.58	(-.15)	2.32	(.14)	2.11	(.01)	23
WV	1.73	(.00)	2.27	(.09)	2.00	(-.10)	17
WI	1.90	(.17)	1.81	(-.37)	2.31	(.21)	22
TOTAL	1.73		2.18		2.10		105

One-Way ANOVA for State Differences:

	Individualist	Moralist	Traditionalist
F-Stat:	6.77	8.49	4.25
Sig:	.000	.000	.001

Traditionalistic responses. Finally, the two Traditionalist PC states, Arizona and West Virginia, were among the three loading most heavily upon the Traditionalist PC alternative; only Illinois surpassed them, a state noted for a southern sector where Traditionalist PC dominates (Elazar, 1970).

Are these differences in mean scores significant? The bottom half of Table 6-3 reports emphatically that they are. All of the means are significantly different at the .001 level. That is, these three cultural alternatives have significantly different means across the six states, using a one-way ANOVA test. Do the differences cluster into distinguishable functions which account for the variance? Table 6-4 provides the answer, again in the affirmative. Multiple discrimination analysis (clustering respondents by states and analyzing the three culture scales simultaneously) produces two useful discriminant functions. The first is highly significant (the multiple R of .551 means that it accounts for more than 30 percent of the variance in individual responses). The second function is not statistically significant (i.e. the P-Value is only .199), but it does account for an additional seven percent of the group variance, and assists in illuminating state differences, hence we retain it for cautious interpretation. The coherence of specific questions is reviewed in Appendix A.

Insert Table 6-4 about here

Table 6-4. Multiple Discriminant Analysis for Cultural Differences

Respondents Grouped by State

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

CULTURE ORIENTATION	FUNC #1 R=.55,p=.00 X =51.4,df=15	FUNC #2 R=.27,p=.20 X =11.1,df=8
Moralistic	-0.924*	0.356
Individualistic	0.805*	0.500
Traditionalistic	0.563	-0.813*

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2	PC Symbol
Arizona	-0.059	0.398	T
California	0.220	0.019	m
Illinois	-0.856	-0.087	IT
Pennsylvania	-0.361	-0.362	I
West Virginia	-0.166	0.335	T
Wisconsin	1.178	-0.128	M

GROUP MEANS

STATE	Indiv.	Moral.	Trad.
AZ	1.73	2.28	2.00
CA	1.77	2.12	2.11
IL	1.62	2.43	1.95
PA	1.58	2.32	2.11
WV	1.73	2.27	2.00
WI	1.90	1.81	2.31
TOTAL	1.73	2.18	2.10

The Fit to State Cultures

What, then are the specific components of these two functions just described? The middle portion of Table 6-4 shows that the structure matrix of Function #1 consists of Moralist PCs opposed to both Individualist PC answers and Traditionalist PCs answers, with the opposition between moralism and individualism being the strongest. That is, policymakers that embraced Moralistic views of their states tended to reject both of the other two cultures. The reverse also applies. Function #2 of Table 6-4 reveals a tension between Traditionalistic PC views and those of the other two scales -- the tension here is strongest between Traditionalism and Individualism. In short, the responses of state educational policymakers discriminate among the three cultures along two contrasting dimensions.

Does that mean that each of the six states actually fall in the culture expected from the Elazar classification? The bottom part of Table 6-4 shows how these two functions apply to each of the six states (using the group centroid measures). We also provide a shorthand symbol for the strength of the cultural identification revealed in this statistical analysis. Thus:

1. Arizona and West Virginia combine near zero scores on Function #1 with strong positive centroids on Function #2, indicating a strongly Traditionalist PCs set of responses among their policymakers, hence they are designated T.

2. Wisconsin shows very strong Moralist PC in its responses on Function #1. California also has a positive centroid on this function (though it is much weaker). Hence, the first is labelled M and the second m.

3. Illinois strongly rejects the Moralist PCs of Function #1, but has a near zero score on Function #2. This combination represents a roughly equal embrace of both the Individualist and Traditionalist views, hence Illinois is labelled IT.

4. Pennsylvania respondents (as indicated by their group centroids) tended to reject both the Moralism of Function #1 and the Traditionalism of Function #2. Hence this state is the most Individualistic in orientation of our sample -- exactly as predicted by Elazar (1970).

A spatial sense of these discriminants is shown in Figure 6-1.

Insert Figure 6-1 about here

The first and highly significant Function #1 is the horizontal axis. As states move to the right along this axis they give stronger and stronger support to a moralistic culture perspective. The weaker and non-significant Function #2 appears as the vertical axis -- the closer centroids approach to the top of this axis the more they reflect endorsement of traditionalism. The dots represent the centroid values of each state on each of these two functions; a centroid is the mean value on that function for all members of the group surveyed. The power of Function #1 is suggested not only in significance measures but can be seen in Figure 1 by how great the distance is between Wisconsin and Illinois along this dimension. The gulf that separates the perceptions of in Wisconsin and Illinois -- two states that actually border one another -- is quite remarkable. The Pennsylvania centroid reveals the Individualism of this state by being located in the lower left quadrant of the figure, a

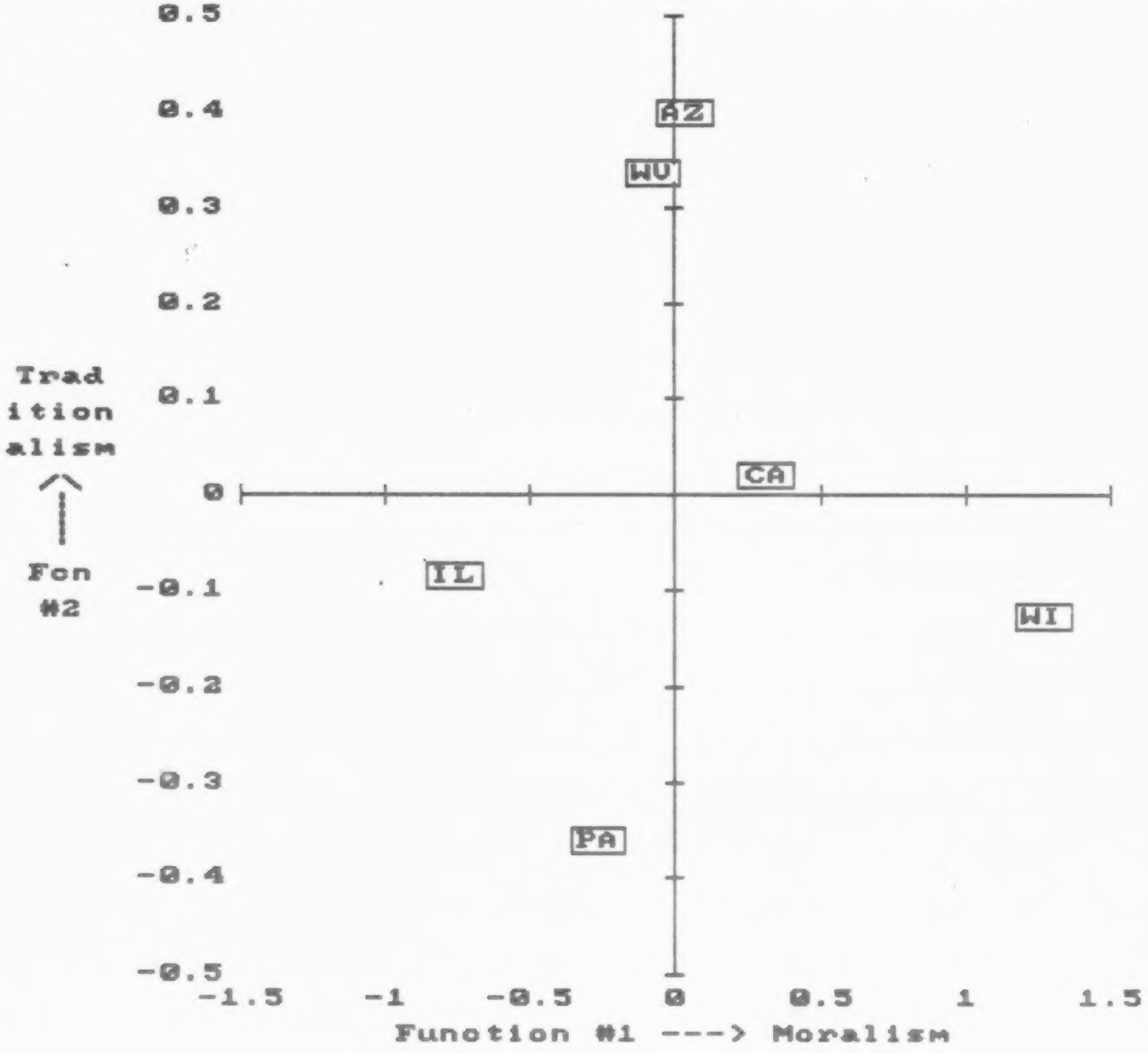


Fig. 6-1. Political Culture
Discriminant Function Centroids

substantial distance from both axes lines. California reveals a tendency toward Moralism, this state is the closest to the culturally neutral center of the figure. Meanwhile, the two Traditionalist PC states rank highest on the Traditionalist PC answers. West Virginia, to the left of the vertical axis combines traditionalism with a rejection of the moralistic viewpoint.

The coherence of these cultural responses might be spurious, however, concealing some other attribute of the policymakers. To check on this possibility, we undertook the usual tests to determine whether a set of personal qualities of the policymakers better account for differences in their responses. We selected several personal qualities which other research has shown might account for differences in social outlook. These included: age, sex, occupation, political party identification, self-reported degree of liberalism vs. conservatism, and income.

Six regression equations using these variables were run, one against each of the three sets of cultural responses, both controlling and not controlling for the six states. However, in the step-wise procedure of the six regression equations, not a single personal characteristic variable had enough significance to enter the analysis even for one equation. In short, the negative hypothesis was accepted -- personal qualities did not account for variations in the political culture answers. Consequently, this analysis further reinforces the coherence of cultural responses arrived at through the multiple discriminant analysis.

History and the Statistical Fit

These statistical designations also fit much of these states' recent history and rich past.

1. Illinois's IPC culture has existed in the central and Chicago areas, but there has also been a Traditionalist PC culture in the Southern half reflecting migrants from the Traditionalist PC South 150 years ago. Our Table 6-1 shows that the first predominates.

2. Wisconsin's Nordic ethnic cultures have dominated its past and has been little changed because of limited population change. That culture has underlain the state's impetus for major reforms -- adopted elsewhere -- in the political, social, and economic spheres. Such policy behavior befits a culture oriented to using government for the common weal, to encouraging party life and individual's participation in it, and to adopting merit system improvements.

3. Arizona and West Virginia have had histories of domination by the elites of extractive industries. That domination once extended into the government and party life. Arizona was one-party Democratic until the postwar appearance of middle-class and professional migrants from the Midwest build a strong Republican party.

4. California shows the most influence traceable to changes in its population brought on by in-migration from all regions. Early in the century the state was a leader in the Progressive movement and reform period, and today its politics is still infused with the moralistic cultural elements rooted in that era. However, while party life has altered greatly away from the eastern, big-city mold, both parties compete strongly. The southland has pockets of both Individualist PCs and Traditionalist PCs politics; these reflect inland valley agribusiness, fiercely competitive ethnic conflict, and suburban, middle-class, traditional values. The result of this influx should have diminished the Moralist PCs influence, and so Figure 1 shows indeed that it is slightly Moralist PCs and intermediate on the Traditionalist PCs scale.

Political Culture and SPM-Approach Differences

The role of political culture in shaping education values of the sample states requires two kinds of analysis. One is to determine whether policy elite judgments of their state's attitudes toward government would cluster in the anticipated patterns of three types of culture. This analysis found that elite perceptions were measurable in this fashion, that their perceptions did cluster between the states, and that they clustered in a fashion congruent with the Elazar formulation. A second kind of analysis is now required, namely, to determine what effects these cultural perceptions have on perceptions on the SPMs and approaches analyzed in chapters III-IV. In short, what difference does political culture make on policy perceptions and preferences on these elites?

There are two ways of disaggregating the effects of both culture and states on these matters. One is to determine the effect on elite policy judgments of between-state differences in political culture perceptions, and the second is to determine the within-state effects.

Between State Differences

Multivariate analysis using six states as units of analysis is of limited use in measuring between-state differences because of this small N; coefficients of .75 would be needed to achieve a significant difference. However, it is possible to look for substantial correlations that are less than this level. Significant correlation provides statistical reliability, but the small-N problem and the non-random state selection make that inappropriate here. But substantial correlations can be useful, especially when displayed in scattergrams, a device used in Robert Crain's small-N study of school desegregation (1969). Since a .50 correlation coefficient accounts for 25 percent of the variation between two variables we felt that coefficients of about this size were of an acceptable importance level. Because of their theoretical relevance, a few correlations slightly below that level are included in the analysis that follows.

Our measures of political culture are the two functions revealed by multiple discriminant analysis earlier. Function #1 contrasts Moralistic with Individualistic and Traditionalistic cultures, and Function #2 contrasts Traditionalism with Individualism and Moralism. Our dependent variable is the policy elites' ranking of priorities given to the seven SPMs described in chapter III.

Findings. Table 6-5 presents the five large correlation coefficients between culture views and SPM priorities. The two coefficients for Function #1 indicate that respondents who see their states as more Moralistic gave low ranking to governance concerns while attacking higher priority to Curriculum Materials policies. Conversely but that those with more Traditionalistic and Individualistic perceptions reversed the Governance and Curriculum Materials emphases.

Insert Table 6-5 about here

In Function #2 (where positive scores indicate Traditionalistic cultures), states with Traditionalistic cultures (AZ, WV) rank building policy high while giving low ranking to testing and program definition issues.

The scattergrams for the five coefficients of Table 6-5 appear in Figures 6-2 to 6-6 and suggest the following:

Table 6-5. Large Pearson Correlation Coefficients between State Means on Political Culture Functions and Mean Rankings on the Seven State Policy Mechanisms

FUNCTION #1 (MORALISTIC)	R	R-SQUARED
Curriculum Materials	-0.688	0.473
Governance	0.467	0.218
FUNCTION #2 (TRADITIONALISTIC)		
Testing	0.609	0.370
Buildings	-0.438	0.192
Program Definition	0.426	0.182

Note: Negative correlations indicate positive association because high function scores indicate that states embrace the function meaning, while high policy mechanism scores indicate a low ranking for those particular SPMs.

1. On Curriculum Materials (Figure 6-2), Moralistic perceptions of rankings in Wisconsin lead to high ranking for this SPM, but those in Individualistic and Traditionalistic Illinois are a good predictor of low ranking (all agree this SPM is of little importance); the other states are intermediate.

2. On Governance (Figure 6-3), the statements above about Wisconsin and Illinois are switched, and the other states are more loosely intermediate. Illinois respondents' high agreement on the importance of Governance policy fits the pattern noted earlier from history of its great preoccupation with the structuring of power and authority. Moralistic California joins Wisconsin in the low ranking of Governance. So also, however, do Individualistic Pennsylvania and Traditionalist Arizona.

3. On Testing (Figure 6-4), perceptions of low ranking in West Virginia are highly correlated with Traditionalistic perceptions, while others states' pairings give higher ranking to this SPM -- Individualistic Pennsylvania giving it the highest priority. Arizona does not fit this pattern, however.

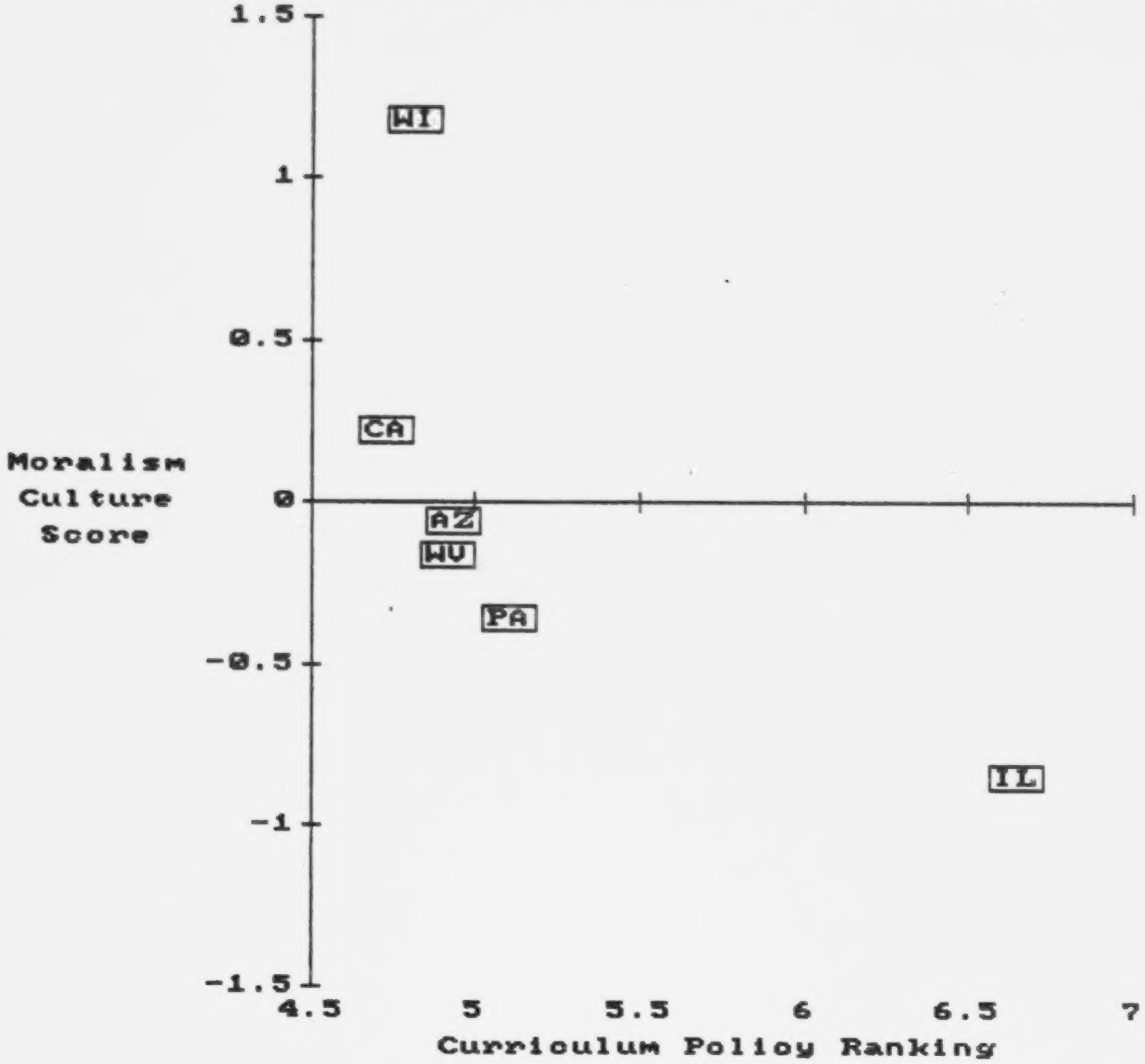
4. On Program Definition (Figure 6-5), Traditionalist cultures West Virginia and Arizona negatively associated with attention to program policies while Individualist and Moralist states (except California) give increasing attention to this SPM.

5. On Buildings (Figure 6-6), Traditionalistic perceptions in West Virginia and Arizona are poorly related, but West Virginia combines with the others to provide a relatively strong negative correlation -- the Individualist and Moralist states give less attention to building policy.

Insert Figures 6-2 to 6-6 about here

Culture and the alternative policy approaches. If the 33 different approaches to the various SPMs, only three are significantly related to our culture variables -- one in finance and two in personnel. As shown in Table 6-6, they are the targeting of fiscal resources on specific population groups and the

Fig. 6-2. Scatterplot of States
Curriculum Policy vs. Moralism



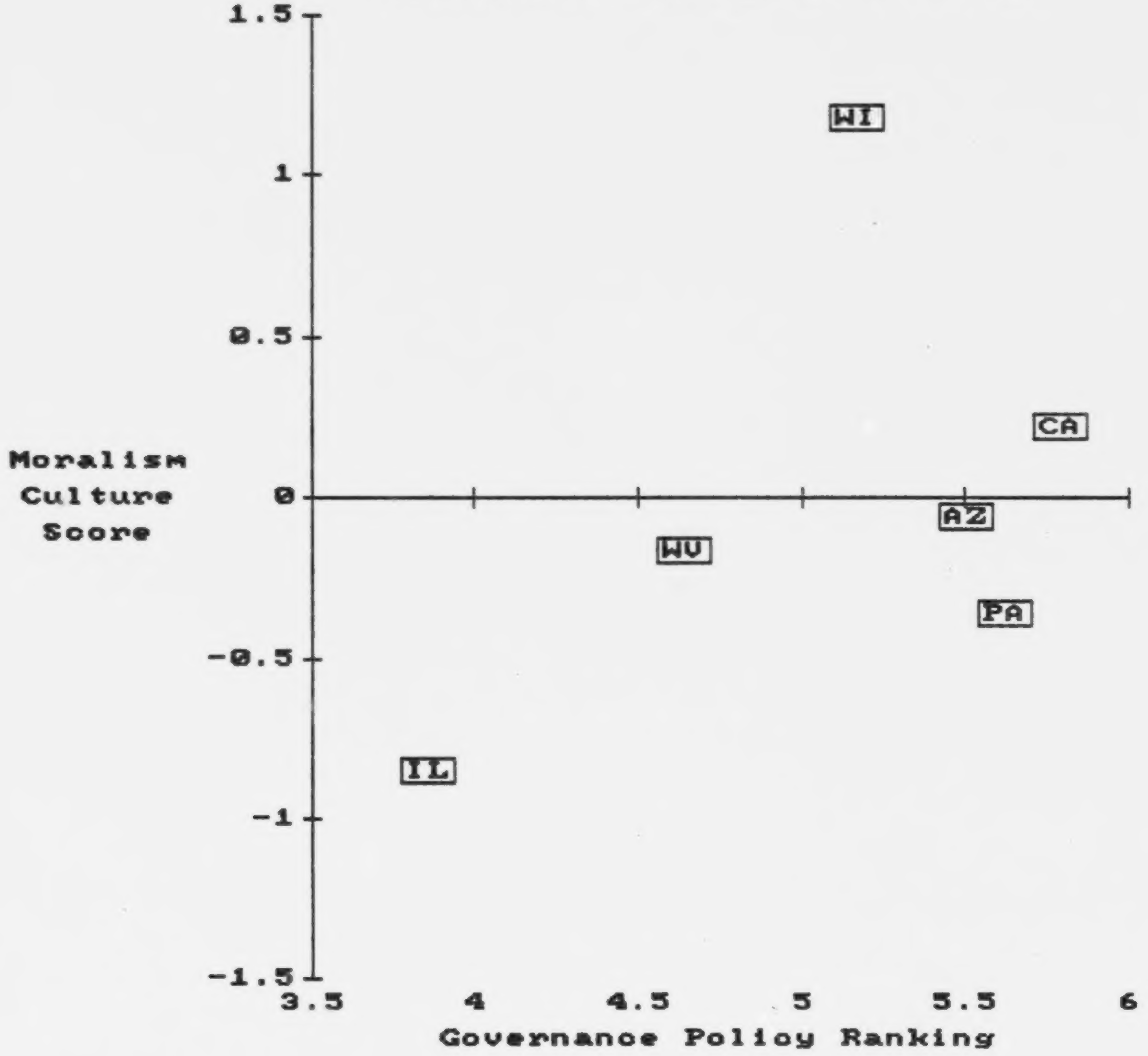


Fig. 6-3. Scatterplot of States Governance Policy vs. Moralism

Fig. 6-4. Scatterplot of States Testing Policy vs. Traditionalism

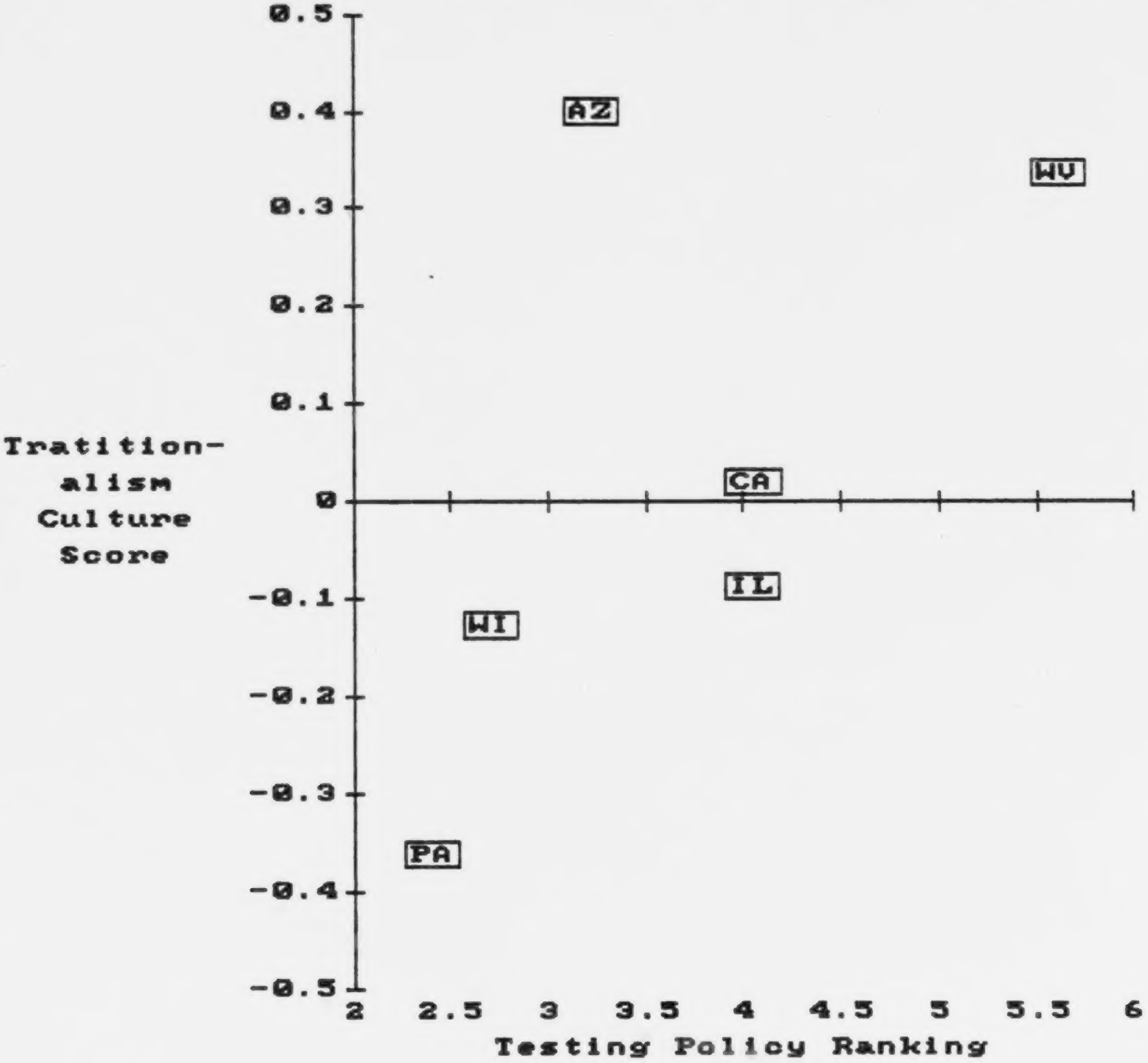


Fig. 6-5. Scatterplot of States
Program Definition vs. Traditionalism

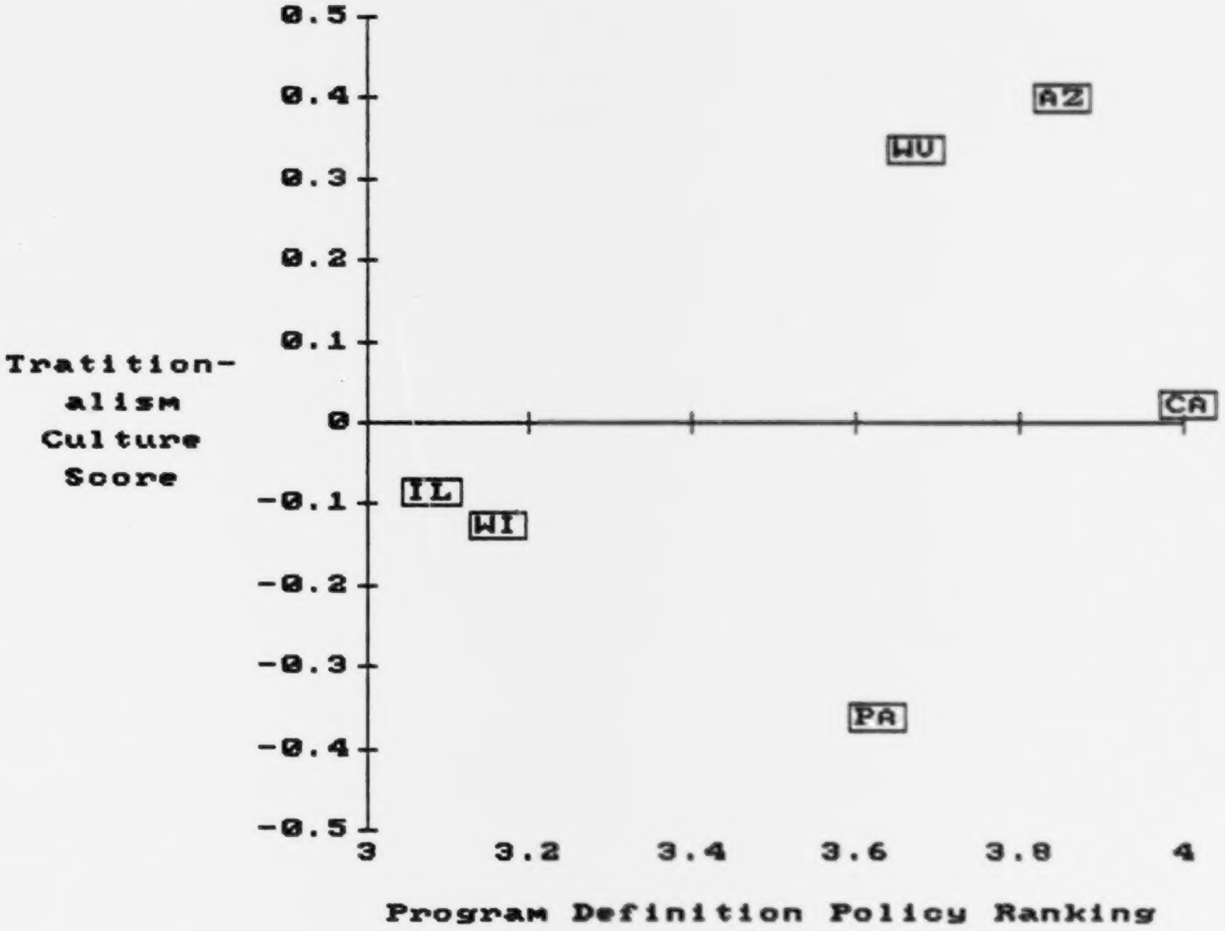
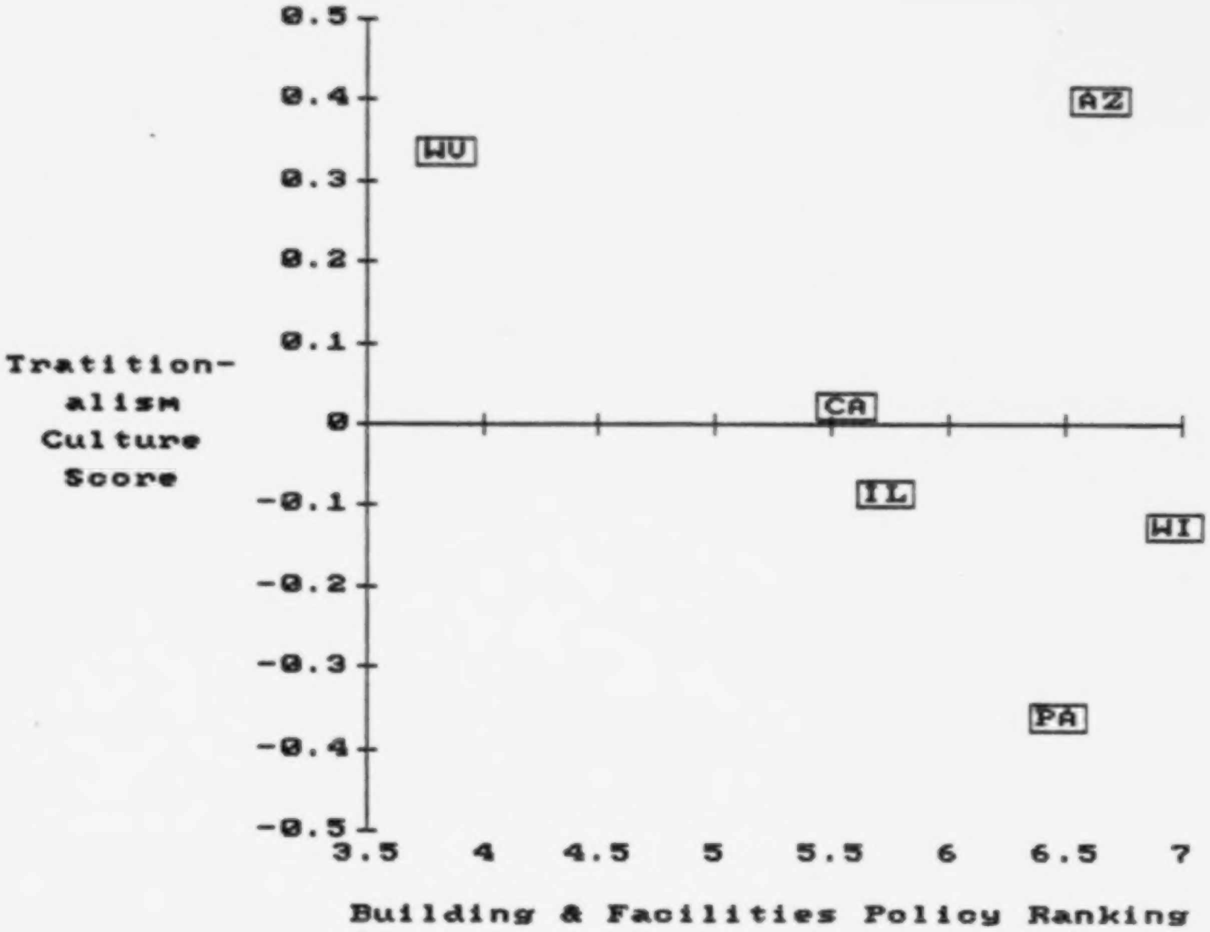


Fig. 6-6. Scatterplot of States
Building Policy vs. Traditionalism



preferences for accountability or pre-service certification training in school personnel policy.

Insert Table 6-6 about here

Moralistic culture was linked to a rejection of the financial targeting approach. At first glance this is a bit difficult to explain, since moralistic cultures embrace a strong positive role for government -- linking public services to popular definitions of the public interest. When we note, however, that the correlation between moralism and a targeting approach reaches a value of -.468 (indicating moderate support for this way of dealing with education as a commonweal interest) and the correlation between state traditionalism and the targeting approach to finance is a very strong -.675 (indicating that traditionalists prefer this conception of the commonweal good) the picture becomes clearer. Moralist states favor equity through equalization; traditionalists through the identification of populations with special needs and provision of targeted services. Individualist states favor neither of these approaches and are, in fact, indifferent to all of the fiscal policy alternatives.

The two culture functions divergent orientations toward appropriate handling of personnel policy issues. Both of the large Pearson correlations coefficients have positive signs (meaning that large function scores are accompanied by reduced attention to the approaches -- i.e. larger numerical scores for each approach).

Table 6-6. Large Pearson Correlation Coefficients between Political Culture Discriminant Function Centroids and Specific Policy Approaches

FUNCTION #1 (MORALISM)	R	R-SQUARED
Finance: Targeting	0.906	0.821
Personnel: Accountability	0.649	0.421
FUNCTION #2 (TRADITIONALISM)		
Personnel: Certification	0.855	0.731

State moralism, expressed as large centroid scores for Function #1, is associated with a general resistance to the accountability approach to personnel policy. With less intensity, moralist states also reject increased attention to pre-service certification training, preferring instead to concentrate on redefinition of teacher work roles.

Traditionalist states (measured by Function #2) combine a very strong rejection of pre-service certification training with relatively strong support for the accountability approach to personnel policy. Traditionalists clearly believe that state control is best expressed through actions aimed at demanding specific job performance, whereas moralists reject this accountability approach. Individualist states share the traditionalist support for accountability policies, but combine that rejection with a rejection of the teacher job redefinition approach to personnel.

Given the potential number of relationships between culture and policy approach (66 total; 2 culture functions times 33 approaches), the three strong relationships reported in Table 6-6 are not very dramatic. They are quite interesting, however, and suggest that future research work might fruitfully explore the complex linkage between state cultures and education policy preferences in much more detail.

Within-State Differences

A second method for analyzing the linkage between perceptions of culture and of policy lies in sorting out the differences within states. The perceptions of political culture within a state might be affected by system effects of the state or have an independent effect in explaining variations in SPM priority and policy judgments.

Hypotheses. Multivariate techniques enable us to test two broad hypotheses about the possible effects of culture and policy perceptions.

1. On those SPMs and approaches where there is wide agreement within and between the states regarding what the state is and should be doing, then differences in culture perceptions would have little influence. That is, if there is agreement, there is no variation for culture differences to explain.

2. On the other hand, where there are substantial differences among the states, or where there is low interest in a particular SPM political culture should help to explain those differences.

What do we know about such common and differing perceptions? Chapters III-IV demonstrate that:

-- there is very high agreement that the most prominent of all state policy mechanisms is school finance -- the allocation of fiscal resources to various districts and programs.

-- there is similar high agreement that school building and facilities policies are receiving the least amount of attention.

-- that on the other five SPMs there are significant differences among the states in the relative rankings.

-- there is least agreement among the states in ranking alternative approaches to Governance; it is the only SPM where significant gaps among ratings of approaches between states could not be found.

The logic of analysis, then, leads us to predict that within states, in these areas where rankings of SPMs and approaches agree, there will be few cultural effects, but in areas of much disagreement, a stronger relationship between policy and culture will be seen.

Methodology. The method of testing for these effects is multiple regression, in which the states are entered as a block before the introduction of political culture variables. This process takes out the state effects on SPMs and approaches which would otherwise confound the effect of political culture. Then we can determine whether within-state variations in political culture perceptions are related to variations in: a) elite judgments regarding which SPMs and approaches are given priority, and b) elite preferences on both policy matters.

Findings. Table 6-7 presents the significant results found in the 12 regression equations where culture variables were significant beyond the state effects. The only equation dealing with Finance concerns the personal preferences of policymakers for a targeting approach to resource allocation. Elite preference for one approach -- targeting funds on particular groups) -- is strongly associated with their belief that their constituents are Moralistic. By contrast, when it comes to building policy, where all states agreed low priority and where that low priority is being given to the whole domain knowledge of alternative approaches is most limited, we see that cultural perceptions do explain within-state differences. The building approach related to long range architectural planning was best explained by Moralistic cultural orientations (the highest beta coefficient in this table). Individualist cultural views predicted policymaker's personal preferences for two building policy approaches. Individualists preferred remediations of architectural problems over other approach.

Insert Table 6-7 about here

For the SPM where there was least interstate agreement -- Governance -- political culture perceptions accounted for much of the variation in priorities and preferences. Note that this SPM is a subject where differences over political values can have full play. We find that seven of the twelve significant equations fall in this Governance SPM, namely:

1. Moralistic culture perceptions:

   -- are positively related to the view that redistributing state power at the state level is receiving much attention; and our respondents' preference for it to receive substantial attention, and

   -- are negatively related with the view that attention is being given increasing site level control and to the respondents' preferences for it to receive little attention,

These perceptions are congruent with the moralistic view that government, especially centralized government, can play a positive role in realizing public goals.

2. Traditionalistic cultural perceptions:

   -- are positively related to preferences for redefining student's rights and responsibilities and for altering expanding citizen influence over school policy, and

Table 6-7. Results of Multiple Regression of States and Political Cultures on State Policy Mechanism Approaches

Predicting	Political Culture	Beta	Sig.
Fin. Pref: Targeting	Moral	.242	.04
Personnel: Prof. Develop.	Tradl	-.291	.03
Governance: Incr. State Pwr.	Moral	.439	.00
Gov. Pref: Incr. State Pwr.	Moral	.617	.00
Governance: Incr. Tchr. Infl.	Moral	-.297	.03
Gov. Pref: Incr. Tchr. Infl.	Moral	-.494	.00
Gov. Pref: Stud Rights/Resp.	Tradl	.311	.04
Gov. Pref: Admin. Authority	Tradl	-.308	.03
Gov. Pref: Citizen Infl.	Tradl	.324	.02
Building: Planning Approach	Moral	.640	.00
Bldg. Pref: Planning Appr.	Indiv	-.464	.00
Bldg. Pref: Remediation	Indiv	.350	.01

Note: Since both approach and culture scales rank responses in the same way, positive betas reflect positive relationships between identified approaches and the cultural orientation shown.

-- are negatively associated with increasing administrator influence over policy.

These perceptions are compatible with an aggressive anti-public service stance, suggesting that traditionalist cultures view government as a controlling rather than an enabling institution.

Limitation of Cultural Explanation. If cultural perceptions could fully explain elite judgments of SPM priorities and elite preferences for approaches, there would be 42 equations in which significant relationships would exist (7 SPM priorities + 7 approaches x 3 political cultures). The analysis produced, however, a total of only 12 significant equations. But the assumption underlying such an expected relationship is faulty because of an interesting statistical fact. If every respondent within a given state had the same SPM priority and approach preference, ostensibly as a reflection of that state's culture, then there would be no variation within that state for culture to explain. In that case, the between-state effects are all we would expect to find. So, one reason why this section has only 12 significant equations is because there is so little of the total variance is left to explain when between state effects are removed. Rather, what we find is a reflection of both the commonalities and differences in perceptions of SPMs and approaches reported in detail in chapters III-IV.

Comparative Influence of Culture. There is no evidence that the data in this chapter will suggest a single explanation for all policy variance. As one path to understanding education policy alternatives, however, it provides some important insights into the ways in which different perceptions among the states, regarding political culture objects lead to differences in policy priorities and approaches. But does culture explain these differences any better than other factors?

To test this comparative influence we regressed against the rankings of the SPM the following independent variables:

1. The three political culture answers.
2. The personal qualities of our respondents (analyzed elsewhere in this report), including: political party, self-reported liberalism-conservatism, income, age, sex, and occupation. These are measures of status and political value which much research has shown to be associated with differences in beliefs and behaviors in our society.
3. The states themselves as a block, for there might be something else in the state we have not tapped which could explain differences.

State identity counted for the most variance on all the SPMs, while personal qualities account for none. When personal variables are added to the cultural variables both are reduced to little or no explanatory power.

When the states are removed from the stepwise regression, the results improve only slightly. Political party is significant in determining how the Personnel SPM was ranked, (Democrats gave it high priority -- beta -.251, significance 014). Only two cultural answers emerge as significant. Individualist culture predicts attention Curriculum Materials -- (beta -.362, significance .000). Traditionalist culture predicts attention to building policy (beta .235, significance .019). It is important to note from earlier chapters that these two SPMs have few respondents knowledgeable about them and all agree they receive lowest attention in state school policymaking.

Summary

In this chapter we have explored the existence and utility of the concept of political culture. We found that a Moralistic culture function was a powerful interstate discriminant, and that a Traditionalistic function was present, but less distinct. These cultural functions served to explain some interstate differences in rankings and preferences among the SPMs by state policy elites, but in a quite complex manner. Also, these functions explained quite different within-state differences in such rankings and preferences.

The explanatory power of distinct political cultures is similarly present in regression analyses when combined with other explanations. The state itself, however, seems to account for major policy differences. A similar finding using regression appeared recently in accounting for why some states adopted more of the "A Nation at Risk" recommendations than did others (Shinn and Van Der Slik, 1985). These authors found in a 50-state study that the Moralist PCs retained some significance, but that other factors were more important. An updated version (reviewed by one author but not yet presented or published) reports that the Southern states -- home of the Traditionalist PCs in the Elazar (1984) analysis -- accounted for far more of the variance than any other quality, including those economic measures usually found so important.

But the explanatory power of culture may well be lessened when all states are swept by policy reforms. That possibility is demonstrated in the high agreement in our states that Finance was most important by a considerable measure, or that Buildings and Curriculum were just as uniformly ranked low. The first arises from the continuing problems of educational finance in many states, while the second arises from the low interest and knowledge that those SPMs generate.

Maybe the ultimate utility of culture does not lie in multivariate forms of analysis, because the elements of this influence are not captured so specifically as such analysis requires. This influence is better detected and analyzed from accounts in our field reports which show that there are different perceptions of the political system, different rules for making policy within it, and different values which appear in their policy behavior and its results, their statutes. When reported in this fashion, the major utility of political culture lies in tracing how educational values become institutionalized and so serve as the origin of later policies, which will differ among the states as the cultures differ. There is little in the multivariate approach to understanding that can capture these complex and subtle human interactions, except as respondents report them. That will become more evident in chapters IX and X of this report.

APPENDIX A

REFINING THE INSTRUMENT

It is important for future work to determine which objects and questions in the policymaker interviews were especially good indicators of political culture. That is because not all responses loaded very strongly on some -- or any -- of the functions derived. Ideally, all the Individualist PCs answers in each of the eleven sets of questions would load heavily and significantly on the functions found. That was not the case, however, but there were some questions which did the job. We begin by asking: Which set of questions found the three cultural responses significantly loading on each function? Then, which reported significance on two out of three functions?

Matching the Ideal

Only two of the eleven sets matched the demanding requirement that all three cultural responses load significantly on the first function; another set did this but on the second function. The following lists question and correlation of each answer in the function.

The first function with all three items significant were:

2. The most appropriate sphere of government activity is seen as:

economic, i.e., support for private initiative, guaranteeing contracts, economic development, etc. (Individualist PC, coefficient = .20)
community enhancement, i.e., public services, community

development, social and economic regulation, etc. (Moralist PC, .35)

maintenance of traditional social patterns and norms, i.e., setting social standards, enforcing separation of private and public sector activity, etc. (Traditionalist PC, .48)

10. Competition among the parties is:

active, but not over issues or ideological principles (Individualist PC, .49)

focused on issues, philosophy, or basic principles (Moralist PC, .55)

primarily between elite-dominated factions within the party (Traditionalist PC, .26)

The second function with all three answers significant were:

6. Generally, the public views politics as:

a distasteful or dirty business, left to those who are willing to engage in that sort of thing (Individualist PC, .47)

an important, healthy part of every citizen's duty (Moralist PC, .57)

an activity for special groups of people with unique qualifications (Traditionalist PC, -.02)

Note that the successful sets focused on three analytically separate objects in the political world which a culture might evaluate. These are the role of government, the nature of party activity, and the view of politics (that ties the first two together). This collection did not include the object of bureaucracy, although it appears shortly. But the ability of these three objects to distinguish significantly among diverse policymakers suggests their future utility in research with this smaller list. The results also reinforce the evidence that political culture has some validity as a guide to political behavior.

Nearly Matching the Ideal

If we lower our testing one notch, and seek those sets which had only two out of the three answers loading significantly, we find a new political object -- bureaucracy.

First function significant answers were:

5. Civil service or merit systems for government employees are:

accepted in principle, but poorly implemented (Individualist PC, .23, not significant on this function, but significant at .55 on second function)

broadly supported and well implemented (Moralist PC, .47)

rejected as interfering with needed political control (Traditionalist PC, .44)

11. The dominant aim of party competition appears to be:

winning offices and other tangible rewards (Individualist PC, .23, not significant on first function)

gaining broad support for a program or policy (Moralist PC, .52)

extending the control of particular elite groups (Traditionalist PC, .60)

Then, if we add to this relaxed test those sets where two out of three answers were significant on the second function, they were:

4. Government bureaucracies are viewed:

ambivalently, i.e., they are efficient but interfere with direct political control over public services (Individualist PC, -.22)

positively, i.e., they insure political neutrality and effectiveness in the delivery of public services (Moralist PC, .36, not significant) negatively, i.e., they depersonalize government and reduce overall program performance (Traditionalist PC, .28)

Not as strongly as other political objects, attitudes about bureaucracy help discriminate among the cultures and add another stroke to the picture of party competition noted earlier. Used with those reviewed in the preceding section, such question sets would provide greater discrimination in further surveys of this kind.

The Failures

While this technique compels every variable to appear significant in at least one function, that minimum standard operated only for the question set on how party membership was seen (No. 9 in Appendix 6 chapter II), although there it had strong loadings on all three functions derived. Two other questions (1, 3) loaded significantly only at the third function; this function was not significant for Moralist PC but was for Individualist PC answers. Other questions did have significant responses among three functions, not on one; for example, in response to the question set, Politics is viewed as an activity for, the Individualist PC answer was significant on the first function, the Moralist PC on the third, and the Traditionalist PC on the second (incidentally, with sizable coefficients). The same scatter occurred for the Political parties are seen as question set.

It is helpful to realize that an instrument translating a scholar's (Elazar, 1984) descriptions of a complex culture could be used successfully to capture perceptual distinctions among the three cultures even in a handful of occasions.

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CHAPTER VII

STATE STATISTICAL PROFILES

Introduction

Education policy is, no doubt, grounded in the overall condition of state social, political and educational systems. In this chapter we examine the general status of these systems in each of our six sample states. The focus of the discussion is descriptive, our aim is to illuminate the unique character of each state studied, and to show that they are, as a group, broadly representative of the country as a whole.

As reported in the bibliography, there were nine sources for the statistical data reported in this chapter. The most recent is a wall chart, State Education Statistics, recently prepared by the Department of Education's Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation (ED, 1986). Other statistics were taken from the U.S. Bureau of Census' Statistical Abstract of the United States, (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1985c), National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics 1983-84 (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1984), Digest of Education Statistics 1984-85 (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1985b), The Condition of Education (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1985a), a contract study for the Department of Education by Michie and Moore (1986), a series of data tables in Jacob and Vines (1984), a paper by Shim and Slik (1985), and the Book of the States published by the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL, 1984).

Two techniques are used to report the data drawn from these sources. First, tables of key variables are presented. The variables are clustered into twelve related domains of state system performance:

1. Educational Productivity
2. Human Resource Inputs to Education
3. Fiscal Resource Inputs to Education
4. Indicators of Children's Educational Need
5. Indicators of Community Educational Need
6. Measures of State Fiscal Capacity
7. State Policies Defining School Programs
8. State Social Demography
9. Demographic Characteristics of School Children
10. Political Power Distribution in the States
11. Levels of Political Activity in the States
12. Economic Context Factors Influencing Education

A total of 45 variables are examined in these twelve tables (Tables 7-1 through 7-12).

In order to clarify the ways in which these variables describe and define the policy context of the six states, a graphic display of the position of the sample states on each of the variables is presented (See Figures 7-1 through 7-12). The figures show the deviation scores for each of the sample states on each of the variables. The deviation scores were derived by calculating standard scores (Z-scores) for each variable. Hence the displayed score for each state is a measure of its value above or below the national average -- the size of the deviation from the national mean measured in standard deviation units. Roughly speaking, a Z-score greater than 1 indicates that a state's score is among the highest (or lowest) eight states on that particular variable. A score greater than 2 means that only 1 or 2 states have a value this far from the national mean.

Educational Productivity

The first area of concern is the productivity of the public school system in each state. Assessment of school productivity is notoriously difficult and has proven politically controversial in many instances. Academic achievement is the most widely discussed productivity goal for the public schools, but test scores are not the only important indicators of high performance. More importantly, the only standardized achievement test score data available for cross-state comparison are those of the American College Testing program (ACT) and the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). These tests are problematic in two important respects. First, only a limited portion of any school's students take the tests -- those aspiring to higher education. As a result, the test scores are biased and do not assess the average or typical effects of schooling. Second, these tests were developed for the express purpose of measuring students' capacity to perform well in college, not to assess their acquisition of knowledge from the school curriculum. In some unknown mixture, scores on these college admissions tests result from a combination of school teaching and student intellectual ability.

Hence, while we report on the SAT and ACT test scores for our sample states, we also report on three other measures of school performance: the proportion of each state's students motivated to take the tests, the rate at which ninth grade students graduate from high school, and the rate of school attendance by enrolled students. There are, no doubt, significant flaws in each of these measures as well, but they are probably reliable enough to reflect accurately the general pattern of school performance within our sample states.

a. Standardized Test Score Data

Most high school students take the SAT in California and Pennsylvania. The larger number take the ACT in Arizona Illinois, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Hence, the Secretary of Education's Wall Chart reports the scores this way. As shown in Table 7-1 and reported graphically in Figure 7-1, all of our sample states but West Virginia are performing above the national mean on their respective tests.

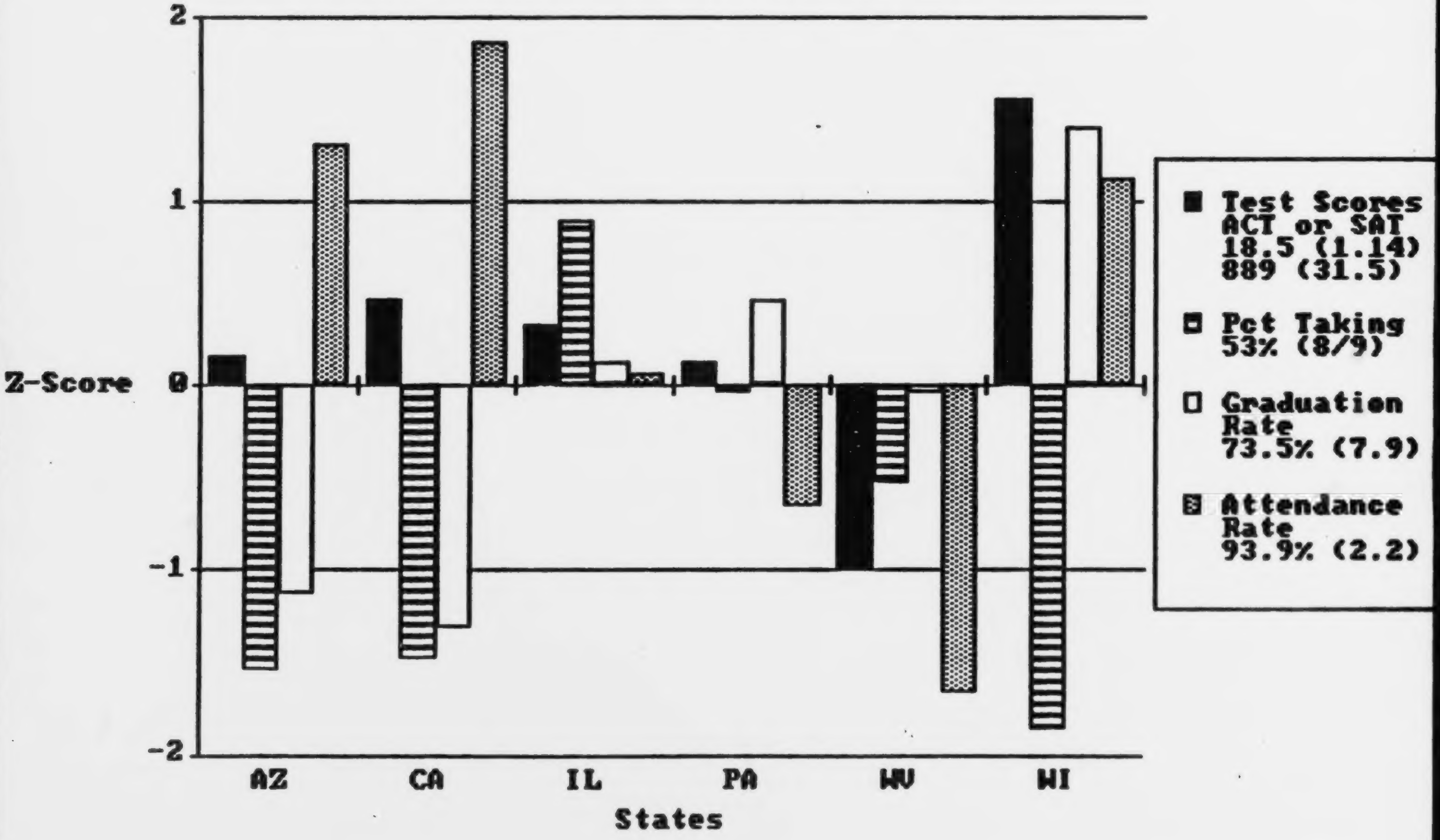
Insert Table 7-1 about here.

Insert Figure 7-1 about here.

Table 7-1. EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

State	'85 ACT Scores	'85 SAT Scores	%Taking ACT	%Taking SAT	Grads 1984	ada/adm 1981
AL	17.6		51.5		62.1	94.7
AK	17.6		36.6		74.7	96.7
AZ	18.7		38.3		64.6	96.8
AR	17.4		52.8		75.2	94.5
CA		904		40.7	63.2	98.0
CO	19.7		60.4		75.4	96.4
CT		915		68.3	79.1	93.8
DE		918		54.1	71.1	91.7
DC		844		53.4	55.2	
FL		884		42.4	62.2	92.0
GA		837		50.4	63.1	94.5
HI		877		48.8	73.2	93.3
ID	18.8		55.2		75.8	93.6
IL	18.9		61.3		74.5	94.1
IN		875		48.6	77.0	95.0
IA	20.3		57.1		86.0	95.5
KS	19.1		62.1		81.7	97.3
KY	17.9		51.9		68.4	93.1
LA	16.5		60.7		56.7	92.6
ME		898		51.5	77.2	94.3
MD		910		51.3	77.8	91.6
MA		906		65.8	74.3	93.2
MI	18.9		51.9		72.2	93.4
MN	20.2		29.5		89.3	94.8
MS	15.5		64.2		62.4	94.8
MO	18.8		48.9		76.2	91.0
MT	19.5		52.1		82.1	95.5
NE	19.7		62.9		86.3	96.0
NV	18.5		43.6		66.5	97.6
NH		939		57.0	75.2	92.4
NJ		889		63.2	77.7	88.6
NM	17.5		54.4		71.0	88.7
NY		900		62.8	62.2	88.1
NC		833		48.8	69.3	93.8
ND	18.1		66.9		86.3	96.0
OH	19.2		46.9		80.0	92.5
OK	17.5		51.3		73.1	94.6
OR		928		44.7	73.9	92.7
PA		893		52.2	77.2	92.5
RI		895		60.0	68.7	94.8
SC		815		46.3	64.5	96.4
SD	19.3		62.3		85.5	95.7
TN	17.6		52.6		70.5	93.0
TX		878		36.1	64.6	94.7
UT	18.9		64.0		78.7	94.8
VT		919		56.5	83.1	94.7
VA		908		53.6	74.7	93.8
WA					75.1	93.8
WV	17.4		47.8		73.1	90.3
WI	20.3		35.3		84.5	96.4
WY	19.4		56.9		76.0	93.2
US AVG	18.6	906			70.9	
State Avg.	18.5	889	52.8	52.6	73.5	93.9
Std. Dev.	1.1	32	9.4	8.0	7.9	2.2

Figure 7-1. Educational Outcomes



Wisconsin students performed the highest of all. With an average of 20.3 they tied Iowa students for the highest ACT test scores in the nation. West Virginia, with an average score of 17.4, tied with Arkansas and outperformed only Mississippi and Louisiana among the 28 states using this test.

b. Percentage of Students Taking College Admissions Tests

In past years state average scores on the ACT and SAT were strongly correlated with the proportion of their students who took the tests. Apparently because high ability students are the first to sign up for the tests, states with more students taking the test had lower averages. In the most recent data, for some unknown reason, this historical correlation does not seem to be present. The percent of students taking a college admissions test has another important meaning, however, one which makes it an appropriate indicator of school performance. Aspiring to higher education is a necessary pre-requisite to taking these examinations, hence an increase in the number of students taking the tests would be a pretty good indication that the schools are succeeding in motivating students to pursue higher learning.

On this measure, only Illinois with 61.3% of its students taking the ACT is producing above the national average (about 53% of seniors taking the college admission test). Wisconsin, whose average scores are among the highest in the nation is least successful among our sample states in motivating students to take the ACT.

c. Graduation Rates

Statistics on the extent to which students are dropping out of school are notoriously weak -- there is no good system for tracking student movement from school to school, and good reasons for schools whose incomes are linked to student enrollment to be slow in reporting dropouts. Nevertheless, some sense of school productivity can be acquired by comparing the number of high school graduates with the number of ninth graders four years earlier. Our sample states show striking variation in the proportion of their ninth graders finishing in four years. With an average rate of 73.5% for all states, Wisconsin shows the strongest performance -- graduating 84.5%, sixth highest in the nation. At 63.2% and 64.6%, California and Arizona are more than a full standard deviation below the national average.

d. Student Attendance at School

Student attendance is another indicator of school performance. Though problems of weather, distance and social demography differentially affect attendance rates across the country, student absenteeism is widely recognized as a serious problem in low performing school systems. The data indicate that students in West Virginia and Pennsylvania attend well below the national average rate of 93.9%. (Their rates are 90.3% and 92.5% respectively). The highest reported attendance rate among our sample states was in California (98%). Arizona and Wisconsin also report high attendance rates, while the Illinois rate is just 0.2% above the national average.

In sum, measured by test scores alone, five of our six states are performing above national norms. But if motivation to take the tests, timely graduation from high school and regular attendance are also considered important, the picture is much more complex. Only Illinois is at or above the national average on all four outcome indicators, while West Virginia's scores are below average on all measures. Overall, Wisconsin could be viewed as having the strongest school system -- local factors rather than poor schools probably account for most of their low rate of ACT test taking.

Human Resource Inputs to Education

Three measures of the human resource inputs available to the schools are presented in Table 7-2 and graphically displayed on Figure 7-2. The first, average teacher salary (in 1985 dollars), reflects the value placed on teaching within each state (and presumably affects the willingness of highly qualified workers to enter this occupation). The remaining two indicators -- pupil/teacher and pupil/staff ratios -- reflect the willingness of states to invest in large school staffs.

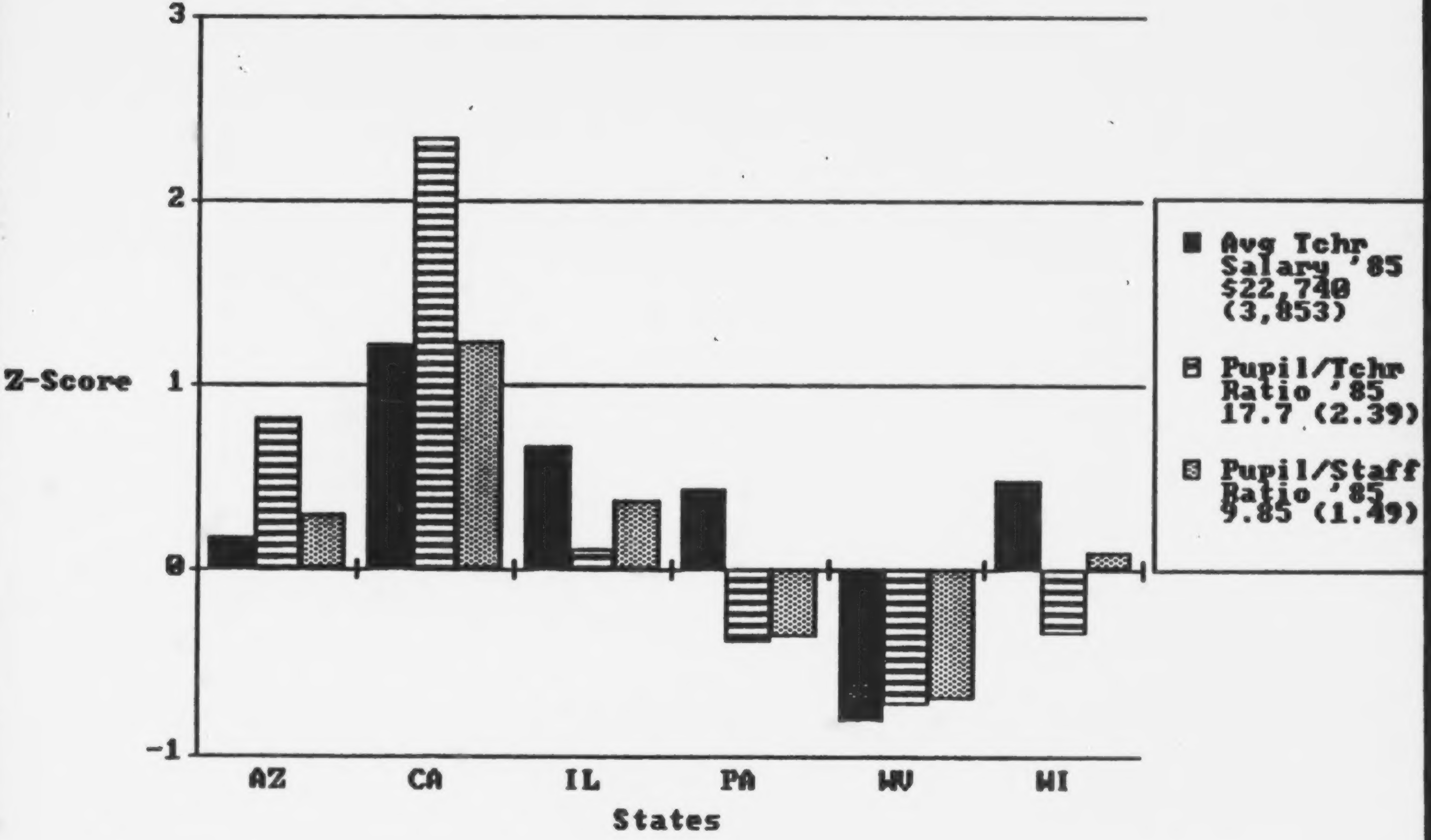
Insert Table 7-2 about here.

Insert Figure 7-2 about here.

Table 7-2. HUMAN RESOURCE INPUTS

State	Tchr Salray 1985	Pupil-Tchr Ratio-85	Pupil-Stf Ratio-85
AL	$20,209	19.4	11.5
AK	39,751	17.1	7.9
AZ	23,380	19.7	10.3
AR	18,696	18.0	9.6
CA	27,410	23.3	11.7
CO	24,454	18.9	9.9
CT	24,468	14.4	12.6
DE	22,990	16.5	9.1
DC	28,621	15.2	7.9
FL	20,836	17.7	9.2
GA	20,610	18.9	10.1
HI	24,628	23.2	10.6
ID	20,033	20.5	13.1
IL	25,289	18.0	10.4
IN	22,853	19.0	9.7
IA	20,934	15.4	8.3
KS	21,121	15.4	8.8
KY	20,225	19.6	10.1
LA	19,470	19.0	9.3
ME	18,329	16.3	9.7
MD	25,861	18.0	9.5
MA	24,110	15.2	8.8
MI	28,401	21.0	10.2
MN	25,450	17.5	9.7
MS	15,971	18.4	8.8
MO	20,452	16.8	9.0
MT	21,705	16.1	12.3
NE	19,848	15.0	8.6
NV	22,520	20.2	11.4
NH	18,577	15.3	9.5
NJ	25,125	15.3	8.3
NM	22,064	18.7	9.8
NY	28,213	17.8	8.7
NC	20,691	19.4	10.1
ND	20,090	16.3	8.9
OH	23,300	18.4	10.0
OK	19,020	16.9	9.8
OR	24,378	18.3	9.7
PA	24,435	16.8	9.3
RI	27,384	15.3	9.6
SC	19,971	17.9	10.2
SD	17,356	14.4	7.8
TN	20,080	20.6	10.7
TX	22,600	17.8	13.8
UT	21,170	24.1	14.0
VT	18,996	14.2	7.6
VA	21,536	16.8	9.1
WA	25,610	20.8	11.7
WV	19,563	16.0	8.8
WI	24,577	16.9	10.0
WY	26,398	12.6	6.8
State Avg.	$21,741	17.5	9.7
Std. Dev.	5,813	3.4	2.0

Figure 7-2. Human Resource Inputs



a. Teacher Salary

Among our sample states, all but West Virginia pay teachers above the national average of $22,740 per year (this is an average of the state averages, not the average for individual teachers). California pays the highest of our sample states. At $27,410, their teachers get the fifth highest salaries in the nation -- behind Alaska, the District of Columbia, Michigan and New York. West Virginia's $19,563 ranks 43rd in the nation.

Though the numbers are not shown in Figure 7-2, we examined how salary differentials for teachers are related to the overall average per capita income within each state. As shown in Table 7-6 (discussed below), per capita income varies substantially among the states. Nationally, the typical teacher earns about 1.84 times the average per capita income within his/her state. In five of our sample states that ratio exceeds the national average (only Illinois has a lower ratio with average teacher salaries only 1.83 times per capita income). In fact, West Virginia, whose salary is lowest among our sample states, actually provides the best ratio between teacher salary and per capita income. The 2.01 ratio in this state means that a teacher with one dependent to support just manage to provide the average income for each of them.

b. Pupil/Teacher Ratios

Our six states were evenly divided on the question of pupil/teacher ratios. California, Arizona and Illinois have fewer than average teachers while West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin have more than the national norm. California's 23.3:1

ratio puts this state in 50th place, just above last place Utah. West Virginia's 16:1 ration puts that state 13th from the top in willingness to provide a generous number of teachers.

Since both contribute to the overall cost of education, one might expect a direct trade-off between average salary and the number of teachers provided. As the data indicate, however, that this in not always the case. Pennsylvania and Wisconsin manage to provide both higher than average salaries and below average pupil teacher ratios.

c. Pupil/Staff Ratios

When the entire educational staff in considered, only Pennsylvania and West Virginia succeed in keeping the ratio below the national average. Three of other states are close, but California's 11.7:1 pupil/staff ratio is substantially above the 9.85:1 national average.

Comparison of the teacher and general staff ratios gives some insight into the staffing efficiency of state school systems. Wisconsin and Illinois have relatively "efficient" staffing -- their non-teaching staff is relatively sparse compared to their teaching staff. California and Arizona are at the other extreme -- they bring their overall pupil/staff ratios closer to the national average by allowing teacher work loads to rise.

In sum, human resource inputs in our sample states are relatively spartan. Only Pennsylvania is able to provide both higher than average teacher salaries and lower than average pupil work loads. West Virginia appears to make a trade-off appropriate to a sparsely populated state -- a large staff at a substantially below average pay rate. California is at the opposite extreme, giving much higher than average salaries while allowing work loads to soar.

Fiscal Resource Inputs to Education

Four measures of the level of financial support made available to the public schools were examined. The first measure, per pupil expenditure, is the most direct. It can also be misleading, however, since program costs and living standards vary from state to state. Hence, two measures of comparative effort to fund schooling were also received: the percentage of per capita income within each state devoted to public schools, and the proportion of total state and local expenditures devoted to education. Finally, we looked at the level of federal assistance to each state.

a. Per Pupil Expenditure

In 1984 the average state spent $3,229 per pupil to purchase educational services. This amount varied widely, as the standard deviation of $1,039 suggests. At the high end, Alaska spent $8,625 per child. At the opposite extreme, Utah spent less than one-quarter as much ($2,053). As reported in Table 7-3 and depicted on Figure 7-3, three of our six states (PA, WI and IL) spent at or above the national average. The highest, Pennsylvania, ranked 11th among the states with $3,648. The other three states fell below the national average. Arizona, at the bottom of our sample, ranked 35th in the nation with $2,751.

INSERT TABLE 7-3

INSERT FIGURE 7-3

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b. Expenditure as a Percent of Per Capita Income

We found little relationship between per pupil expenditures and the relative wealth of each state's population. The richest states in our sample, California and Illinois, both spent well below the national average of 25.9 % of per capita income on education. But Illinois was spending slightly above the $3,229 national average per pupil, while Californians devoted such a small percentage of their great wealth to schooling that they fell to 28th place in average expenditure per pupil. The poorest of our sample states, West Virginia, matched Pennsylvania for the highest financial effort at 29.6% of per capita income, but this effort which enables Pennsylvania to reach 11th place in per pupil expenditure only brought West Virginia up to 32nd.

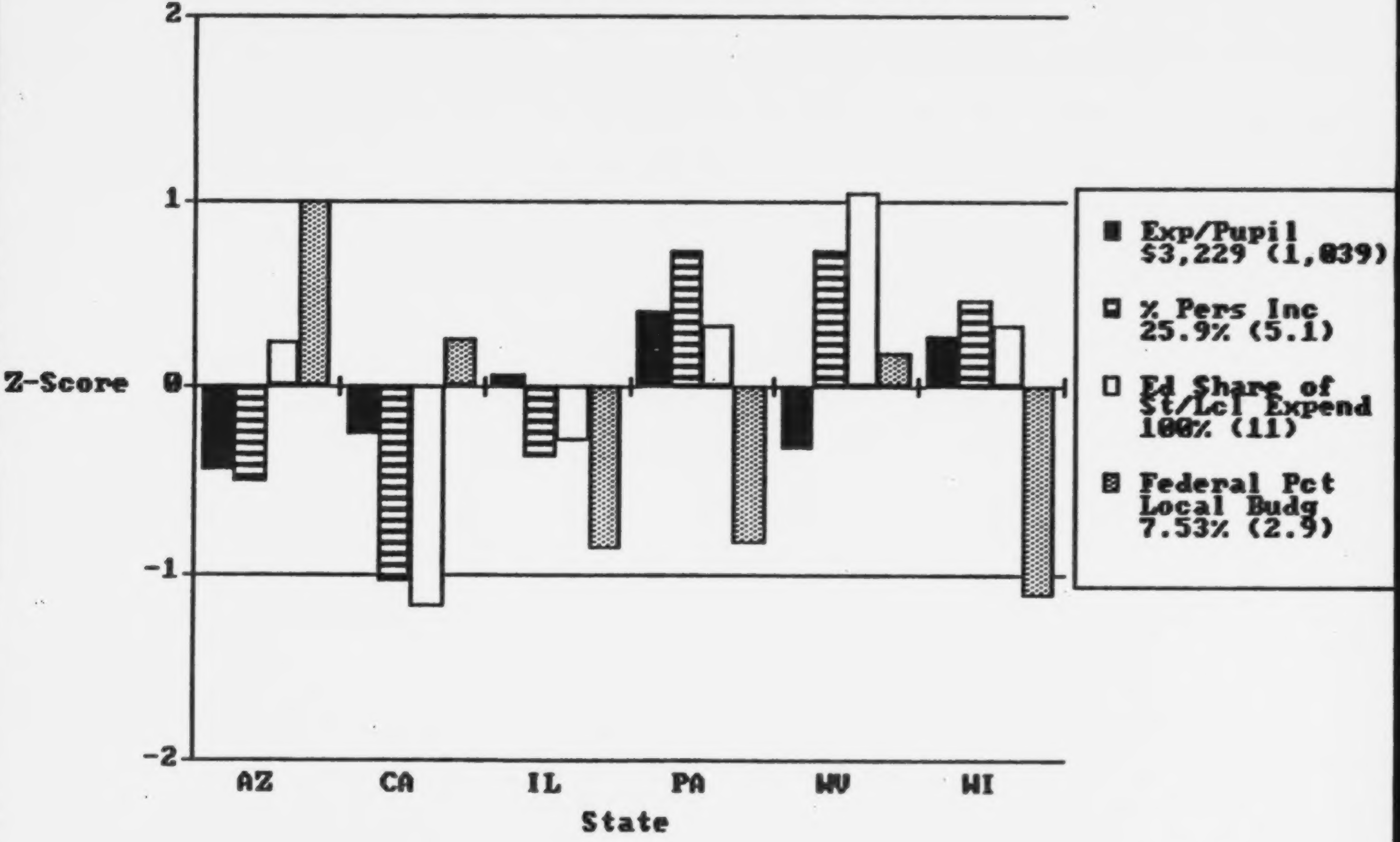
c. Education's Share of Total State and Local Expenditures

Another way to look at the relative commitment to education in our sample states is to assess the proportion of total expenditures by state and local government devoted to the schools. The 1985 edition of the Condition of Education presents a convenient summary of each state's education expenditures indexed to the national

Table 7-3. FISCAL RESOURCE INPUTS

State	Per Pupil Exp. '84	Exp. as %Income	Index of Ed Share	Federal % Budget
AL	$2,055	20.6	94	12.7
AK	8,627	49.3	74	7.8
AZ	2,751	23.2	104	10.5
AR	2,235	22.8	107	11.6
CA	2,963	20.5	88	8.3
CO	3,373	24.4	114	5.0
CT	4,023	24.3	107	3.9
DE	3,849	28.1	80	8.0
DC	4,783	27.9		11.8
FL	2,932	23.0	101	8.0
GA	2,352	20.4	95	8.6
HI	3,334	25.6	70	10.7
ID	2,181	21.6	104	7.6
IL	3,298	23.9	98	4.9
IN	2,725	23.3	117	4.4
IA	3,274	26.9	104	5.0
KS	3,284	24.8	105	5.0
KY	2,311	22.4	89	13.2
LA	2,670	24.7	95	9.8
ME	2,700	25.0	100	7.7
MD	3,858	26.7	96	5.8
MA	3,595	24.3	95	5.1
MI	3,605	28.6	103	5.0
MN	3,395	25.6	99	4.6
MS	2,080	23.7	88	16.6
MO	2,748	22.6	110	7.1
MT	3,604	34.2	122	6.5
NE	3,221	25.9	111	6.5
NV	2,690	20.2	89	4.9
NH	2,980	22.6	103	5.3
NJ	4,483	29.0	111	4.5
NM	2,928	28.5	113	11.6
NY	5,117	35.7	87	5.4
NC	2,303	21.2	111	10.2
ND	3,028	24.5	100	8.3
OH	2,982	24.1	109	5.3
OK	2,880	24.7	109	8.4
OR	3,677	31.7	107	5.7
PA	3,648	29.6	105	5.0
RI	3,938	30.7	86	4.7
SC	2,183	21.6	100	12.0
SD	2,685	24.3	92	10.9
TN	2,100	20.2	92	12.3
TX	2,784	22.1	116	8.2
UT	2,053	21.1	121	5.8
VT	3,147	29.1	96	5.9
VA	2,878	21.7	109	7.1
WA	3,465	27.1	107	5.8
WV	2,879	29.6	113	8.1
WI	3,513	28.2	105	4.2
WY	4,523	37.0	112	2.6
State Avg.	$3,072	25.1	99	7.5
Std. Dev.	1,196	6.1	18.1	3.1

Figure 7-3. Fiscal Resource Inputs



average. On average, states devote __ percent of all state and local expenditures to education. The highest commitment to education was made by Montana which gives __% to education, 22% more than the national average. The lowest rate is found in Alaska whose commitment to education is only 74% of the national average. Among our sample states, California devotes the least of its public wealth to education. At 88% of the national average, California was tied with Mississippi, and ranked behind all but five other states (HI, AK, DE, RI and NY). Overall, this index of effort is quite closely related to wealth in each state. The richer the state, the smaller proportion of its public expenditures devoted to education. Conversely, poor states with low total expenditures devote a larger proportion of that spending to education.

d. Federal Spending as Percent of Local Budgets

The sample states are evenly divided as to whether they are receiving more or less than the national average of 7.53% of their education dollars from the federal government (1984 figures). The division of federal dollars is not very closely related to overall state wealth, however. The poorest of our states, West Virginia, receives the third highest proportion of federal dollars (8.1%). The wealthiest state, California, receives an even larger 8.3% of its education budget from federal sources.

The highest proportion of federal support in our sample goes to Arizona (10.5%), the lowest to Wisconsin (4.2%). Wisconsin's share is the second smallest in the nation (only Wyoming at 2.6% gets less). Ten states get a larger proportion of federal support than Arizona.

In sum, state investment in education varies greatly. Poorer states devote a larger proportion of their spending to education than wealthy ones, but total public spending is not very closely related to per capita income. Federal support for education is not very closely related either to the states' overall wealth or their willingness to spend a larger proportion of that wealth on education.

Indicators of Children's Educational Needs

Two clusters of variables indicating the level of need for educational services within the states were examined. The first group, described in this section, consists of four measures of children's educational needs. The second group, discussed below, identify characteristics of the adult population associated with educational need. The child need variables are shown on Table 7-4; sample state deviation scores are graphed in Figure 7-4.

Insert Table 7-4 about here.

Insert Figure 7-4 about here.

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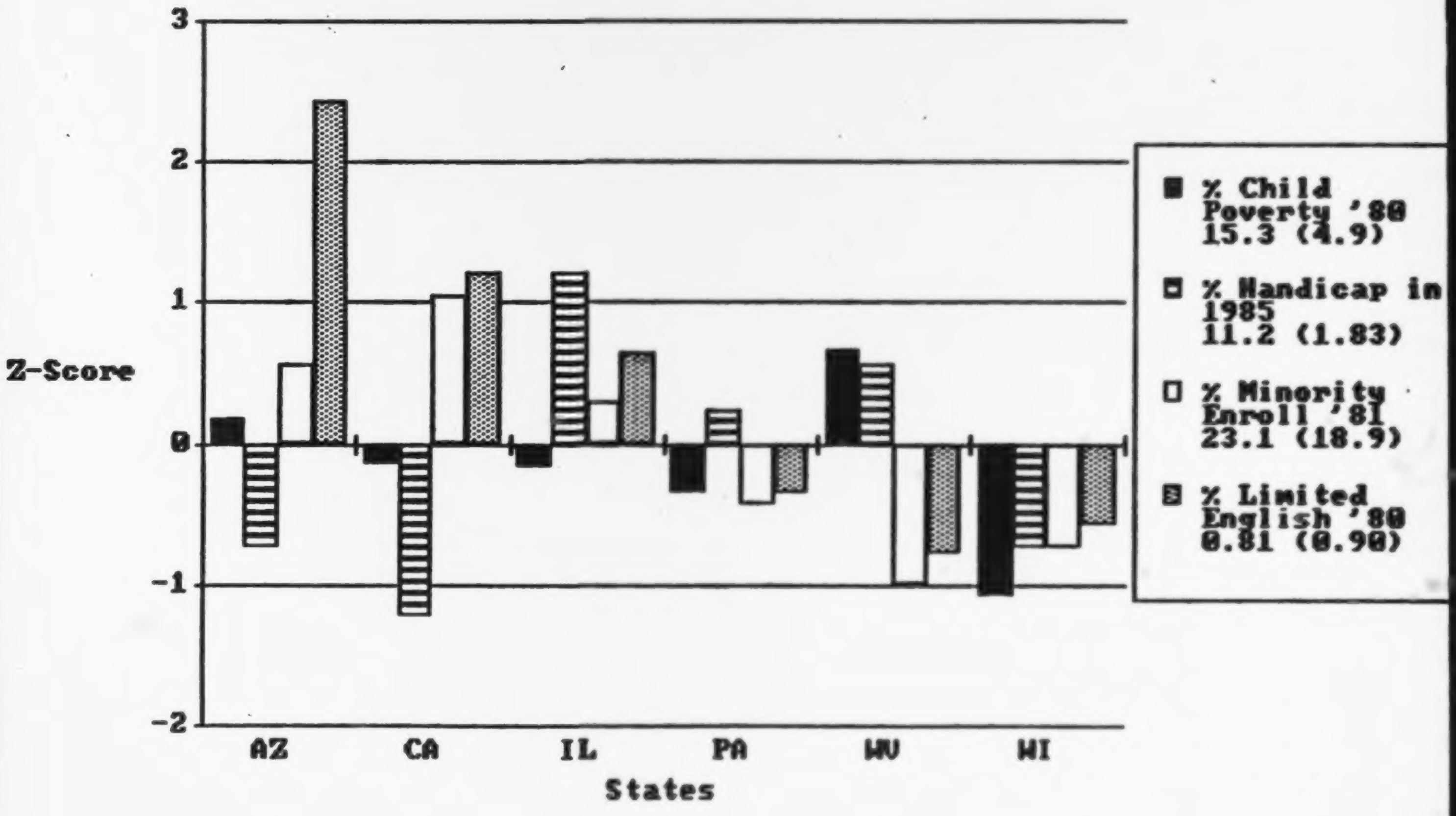
a. Poverty Among 5-17 Year-olds.

In 1980, an average of 15.3% of the children in each state were living below the poverty line. In keeping with its generally low

Table 7-4. CHILDREN WITH EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

State	%Poverty 1980	%Handicap 1985	%Minority 1981	%L.E.P. 1980
AL	23.1	12.5	33.6	0.1
AK	11.4	10.9	28.4	1.7
AZ	15.8	9.8	33.7	3.0
AR	22.7	11.1	23.5	0.1
CA	14.2	8.9	42.9	1.9
CO	10.8	8.6	22.1	1.0
CT	10.4	14.0	17.0	1.2
DE	14.6	16.4	28.8	0.5
DC	26.3	8.5	96.4	0.7
FL	17.7	10.8	32.2	1.3
GA	20.5	9.6	34.3	0.2
HI	11.7	7.6	75.2	2.1
ID	13.4	8.7	8.2	0.5
IL	14.1	13.4	28.6	1.4
IN	11.0	10.7	12.0	0.3
IA	10.8	11.7	4.1	0.3
KS	10.7	10.2	12.7	0.5
KY	21.2	11.5	9.1	0.2
LA	23.1	10.2	43.4	0.5
ME	15.1	13.2	0.9	0.4
MD	11.9	13.4	33.5	0.5
MA	12.3	16.4	10.7	1.1
MI	12.4	9.5	21.3	0.3
MN	9.5	11.5	5.9	0.4
MS	30.4	11.2	51.6	0.2
MO	14.0	13.0	14.8	0.2
MT	12.7	10.3	12.1	0.3
NE	11.6	11.4	10.5	0.3
NV	9.4	9.3	18.9	1.0
NH	8.9	10.0	1.3	0.3
NJ	13.3	14.8	28.4	1.5
NM	21.7	10.3	57.0	4.1
NY	17.9	10.9	32.0	2.0
NC	17.8	11.0	31.9	0.2
ND	14.0	10.1	3.5	0.2
OH	12.2	11.1	14.7	0.4
OK	15.1	11.0	20.8	0.4
OR	10.8	10.8	8.5	0.7
PA	13.2	11.6	14.8	0.5
RI	12.6	14.2	8.2	1.4
SC	20.7	12.0	43.5	0.2
SD	19.4	10.5	7.9	0.3
TN	20.2	12.1	24.6	0.2
TX	18.4	9.7	45.9	4.0
UT	9.8	10.7	7.3	0.7
VT	13.0	11.4	1.0	0.1
VA	14.4	10.7	27.5	0.4
WA	10.3	9.2	14.1	0.9
WV	18.2	12.2	4.3	0.1
WI	9.6	9.8	9.3	0.3
WY	7.5	10.9	7.5	0.3
State Avg.	14.6	11.0	23.3	0.82
Std. Dev.	5.6	2.4	19.2	0.91

Figure 7-4. Indicators of Children's Educational Need



income, West Virginia had the highest proportion of children in poverty in our sample (at 18.2% WV ranked 13th). Wisconsin, not wealthiest California, had the fewest poverty stricken children. At 9.6%, Wisconsin had fewer poor children than all but four states -- WY, NH, NV and MN. Of the remaining states in our sample, all were below the national poverty rate except Arizona which at 15.8% was just half a percentage point above the national average.

b. Children Identified as Handicapped

The Education Department's Wall Chart provides data on the proportion of children in each state classified as handicapped. We are uncertain about the usefulness of these numbers, however, because the identification of handicapping conditions is frequently encouraged (or discouraged) by special funding formulas. We suspect that interstate comparison of such rates tells more about handicapped program policies than about variations in children. There are, nevertheless, substantial differences among our sample states in the number of identified handicapped children being served. California reports the lowest rate -- 8.9%, more than a full standard deviation below the national average of 11.2%. Only HI, CO and ID report lower rates. Illinois, by contrast, reports that 13.4% of their school children are handicapped -- tied for sixth place in the nation with MD. Of the remaining four states, WV and PA report rates above the national average, while WI and AZ report very low rates.

c. Minority Enrollment

In 1981, 23.1% of the nations school children were identified as belonging to a minority racial or ethnic group. The proportion varied greatly from state to state, however, as the standard deviation of 18.9% indicates. At the high end, 96.4% of the children in Washington, DC, and 75.2% of those in Hawaii were minority group members. Two other states, NM and MS, reported that more than 50% of their school children were members of minority groups. At the other extreme were ME with 0.9%, VT at 1.0% and NH with 1.3%.

Among our sample states, minority enrollment was high in California (42.9%), Arizona (33.7%) and Illinois (28.6%). It was commensurately low in West Virginia (4.3%), Wisconsin (9.3%) and Pennsylvania (14.8%).

d. Limited English Proficient Students

Although the numbers reported are relatively small (a national average of 0.81%), children who have limited proficiency in the English language are widely recognized as a serious problem in the public schools. Statistics for 1980 indicate that the highest rate in the country was in New Mexico (4.1%). Arizona, with 3% LEP students, ranked third behind Texas. In West Virginia, on the other hand, the problem is virtually non-existent -- only 0.1% of their students have English language limitations. This rate is tied with Vermont, Arkansas and Alabama for the lowest in the nation. Of the other states in our sample, California and Illinois have above average numbers of LEP students, while Wisconsin and Pennsylvania have fewer than average.

In sum, the six states in our sample confront very different mixtures of students with special needs. Wisconsin consistently ranked below the national average on all of our measures, while Illinois was above average on all indicators except children in poverty which was only about 1% below the national average. Pennsylvania had below average rates on all indicators except handicapping conditions, the indicator we suspect is more likely to reflect state policy variations rather than real population differences. Arizona and California have especially high numbers of minority and language deficient children. West Virginia with low rates in these two areas has especially high rates of poverty and handicapping conditions.

Indicators of Community Education Needs

The variables reported in Table 7-5 and depicted graphically in Figure 7-5 are indicators of educational need in the adult population of each state. Four indicators are reported. The first, the percentage of adults over 25 years of age who have not completed the 12th grade, suggests two problems for education policy makers. On the one hand, economic development in an advanced technological economy requires high levels of education. Hence low education among adults makes the future of the state's economy heavily dependent upon raising educational achievement among the young. On the other hand, lack of education in the adult population generally means relatively low levels of political support for education, making it hard to raise needed revenues.

Insert Table 7-5 about here.

Insert Figure 7-5 about here.

The birth rate within each state, the second variable reported in Table 7-5, is a good leading indicator of overall demand for education in the future. Higher birth rates will require either more tax dollars or lower per pupil expenditure.

Poverty rates among adults, like that among children, creates special problems for the schools. This indicator is the third one reported in Table 7-5.

Finally, the percentage of non-whites in the population is a useful measure of need for special programs to serve disadvantaged groups.

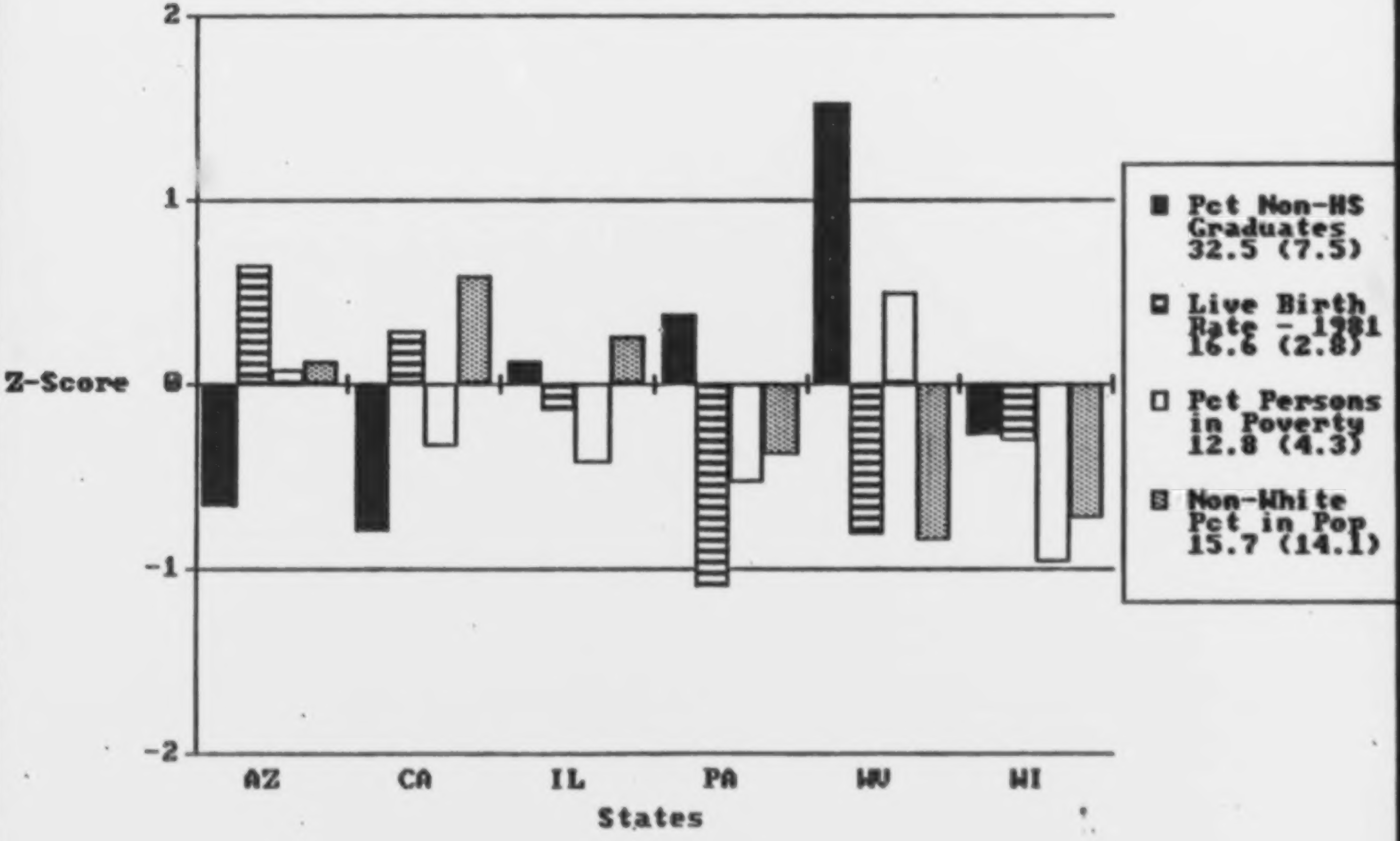
a. Adults Not Completing High School

Despite more than half a century of commitment to universal education through the 12th grade, nearly one third of all adults in the United States have not completed high school. Moreover, this large number is not primarily the result of poorly educated immigrants entering the country. Not only is the overall percentage of foreign born and recent immigrants much lower (4.3%, see Table 7-8), but the rate of immigration is highest in states that also manage to maintain relatively high rates of high school graduation.

Table 7-5. INDICATORS OF POPULATION NEED

State	%Not Comp. 12th Grade	Birth rate-81	%Pop in Poverty	%NonWhite Pop
AL	43.5	15.7	20.7	26.22
AK	17.5	24.3	10.7	22.89
AZ	27.6	18.4	13.2	17.55
AR	44.6	15.6	22.8	17.32
CA	26.5	17.4	11.4	23.82
CO	21.4	17.5	9.1	11.04
CT	29.7	12.7	8.0	9.94
DE	31.3	15.4	11.9	17.85
DC				73.04
FL	33.3	13.6	12.7	16.02
GA	43.6	16.2	16.6	27.75
HI	26.3	18.6	9.9	66.94
ID	26.3	20.5	10.9	4.45
IL	33.5	16.2	11.0	19.20
IN	33.6	15.4	9.7	8.85
IA	28.5	15.8	10.1	2.57
KS	26.7	17.3	10.1	8.29
KY	46.9	15.6	19.2	7.70
LA	42.3	19.1	21.5	30.77
ME	31.4	14.6	13.0	1.33
MD	32.6	14.4	9.8	25.09
MA	27.8	12.8	9.6	6.52
MI	32.0	15.3	10.4	15.04
MN	26.9	16.7	9.5	3.43
MS	45.2	18.2	28.9	35.94
MO	36.5	15.8	12.2	11.61
MT	25.5	18.0	10.4	5.97
NE	26.6	17.2	10.7	5.10
NV	24.6	16.7	8.7	12.50
NH	27.7	14.4	8.5	1.19
NJ	32.6	13.0	9.5	16.81
NM	31.1	20.0	18.5	24.94
NY	33.7	13.8	13.4	20.49
NC	45.2	14.1	14.8	24.21
ND	33.4	18.8	12.6	4.13
OH	33.0	15.5	10.3	11.12
OK	34.0	17.3	15.0	14.12
OR	24.3	16.2	10.7	5.39
PA	35.3	13.5	10.5	10.22
RI	39.0	13.0	10.3	5.28
SC	46.3	16.4	19.0	31.23
SD	32.1	18.5	16.9	7.38
TN	43.8	14.5	18.2	16.47
TX	37.4	19.1	14.6	21.30
UT	20.2	27.3	10.3	5.34
VT	28.8	15.4	12.1	0.78
VA	37.6	14.6	11.8	20.89
WA	22.4	16.5	9.8	8.54
WV	44.0	14.3	15.0	3.85
WI	30.4	15.7	8.7	5.59
WY	22.0	22.1	9.3	5.11
State Avg.	32.5	16.6	12.9	15.67
Std. Dev.	7.5	2.8	4.3	14.09

Figure 7-5. Indicators of Education Need



Our sample states are evenly divided above and below the 32.5 percent national average. West Virginia has the most citizens not completing high school (44%, sixth highest rate in the nation). Two other states, Pennsylvania and Illinois have rates above the national average. Only ten states have fewer adults without high school diplomas than California whose 26.5 percent is the lowest rate in our sample.

b. Live Births per 1,000

Although the national fertility rate is relatively low, birth rates vary quite substantially among the states -- from a low of 12.7 per 1,000 in Connecticut to a high of 27.3 in Utah. This means that some state school systems face a much heavier demand for educational services than others. Indeed, a recent study by the Connecticut Department of Education indicates that this state does not face the serious teacher shortage problems found in other states (Forgione, 1985). Surprisingly, at 18.4 per 1,000, Arizona had the highest birth rate in our sample. This puts Arizona among the ten most prolific states, belying its image as a retirement community and health resort.

Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and West Virginia are all well below the national average. Pennsylvania's 13.5 rate is lower than all but CT, MA, RI and NJ.

c. Adult Poverty

The poverty rate among adults displays, as expected, the same general profile as that for children. The overall rate averages

12.8 percent, substantially lower than the 15.3 percent for children, confirming that poverty is concentrated in large families.

d. Percentage of Minority Citizens

As with poverty, the number of minority citizens in each state parallels, but falls several percentage points behind, the school enrollment figures.

In sum, there is a diverse array of educational needs among the adult populations of our sample states. Wisconsin is below the national average in all four areas examined. Pennsylvania has a small birth rate and fewer than average numbers of poor and minority group members, but has more than an average number of non-high school graduates. Arizona has just slightly above the average rates of poverty and minority group membership, but deviates substantially from other states in birth rate (which is high) and number of persons not finishing the 12th grade (which is low). West Virginia has substantial problems with poverty and low educational achievement among adults. California does better than average in these two areas, but has relatively high birth rates and minority group membership.

Measures of State Fiscal Capacity

There are a number of possible ways to assess the relative ability of the states to provide fiscal resources to support the schools. As shown in Table 7-6 and Figure 7-6, we reviewed three indicators. The first, 1984 per capita incomes measures individual wealth -- presumably a good indicator of the capacity of citizens to provide for the schools. The second indicator, budget surplus (or deficit) at the end of 1984, reveals whether the states have an immediate cash problem in providing resources for various public purposes. The third measure is a composite Representative Tax System index. Prepared by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, this index was, "designed to answer the question, 'What would be the total revenue potential of the 50 states if every state applied identical tax rates -- national averages -- to each of 26 commonly used tax bases?'" (Michie and Moore, 1985, p. 4).

Insert Table 7-6 about here.

Insert Figure 7-6 about here.

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a. Per Capita Income in 1984

Three of our states have above average per capita incomes. As noted earlier, California is the richest state in the sample with a per capita income of $14,487 -- higher than all other states except AK, DC, CT, NJ and MA. West Virginia is the poorest state with $9,258 in per capita income -- lower than all other states but MS.

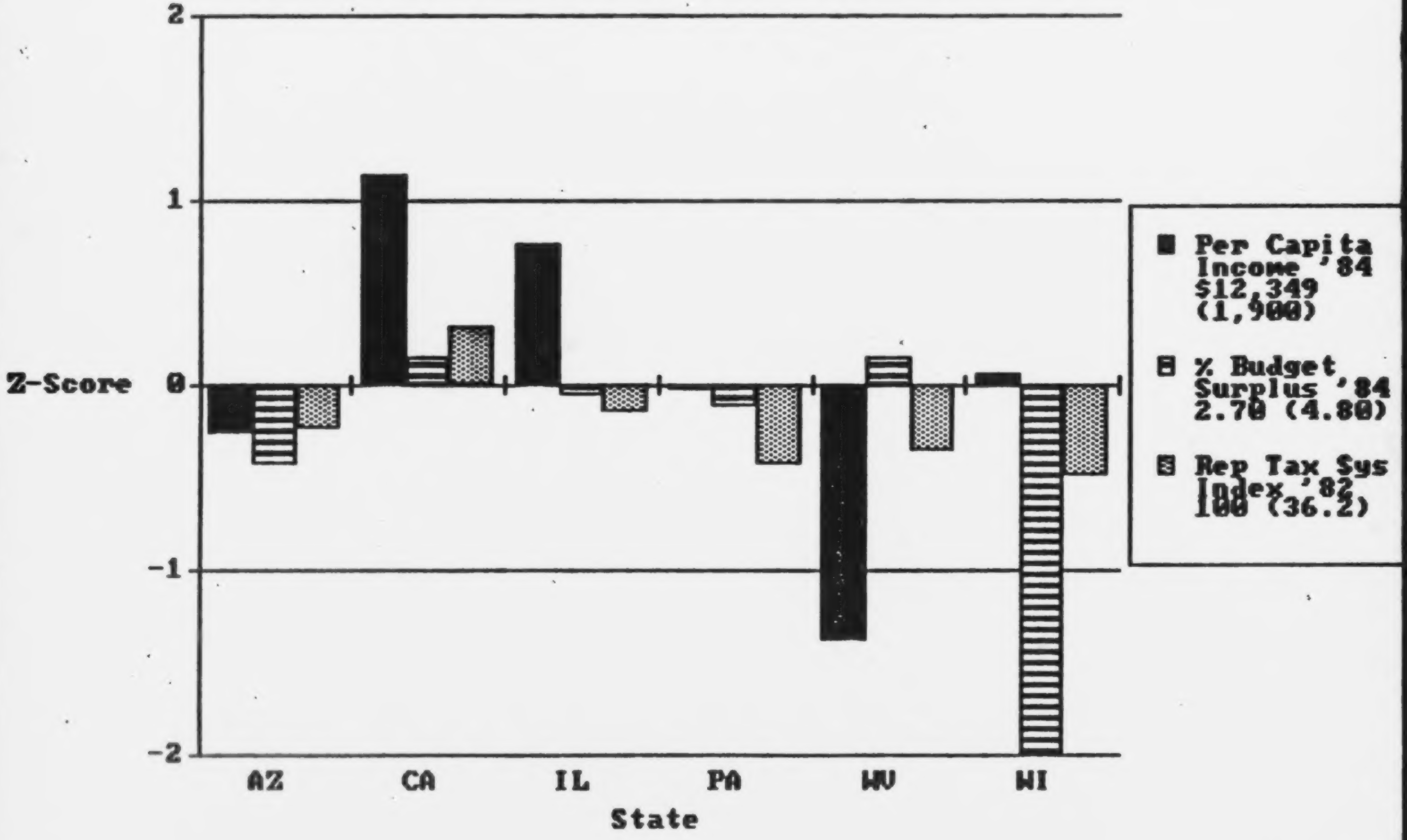
b. Budget Surplus/Deficit in 1984

Wisconsin had the most trouble with financing public services in 1984, ending the year with a 6.89 percent budget deficit (one of only three states to end the year in the red). Of the other states

Table 7-6. STATE FISCAL CAPACITY

State	84 per Cap. Income	84 Budget Surplus	RTS Index
AL	$ 9,992	13.16	74
AK	17,487	16.96	312
AZ	11,841	0.65	96
AR	9,805	4.27	79
CA	14,487	3.41	116
CO	13,847	0.00	121
CT	16,556	4.50	117
DE	13,685	6.51	115
DC	17,113		115
FL	12,763		104
GA	11,551	2.23	84
HI	13,042	7.89	117
ID	10,092	0.00	86
IL	13,802	2.47	99
IN	11,717	1.82	89
IA	12,160	0.00	96
KS	13,248	5.46	106
KY	10,300	0.74	82
LA	10,808	0.10	113
ME	10,813	0.00	84
MD	14,464	0.54	100
MA	14,784	0.62	101
MI	12,607	3.82	93
MN	13,247	0.05	99
MS	8,777		71
MO	12,151	6.12	91
MT	10,546	4.00	110
NE	12,430	0.26	97
NV	13,320	11.85	151
NH	13,192	0.14	100
NJ	15,440	9.36	106
NM	10,262	0.00	115
NY	14,318	0.00	92
NC	10,850	6.69	82
ND	12,352	7.33	115
OH	12,355	1.22	92
OK	11,655	0.00	126
OR	11,611	0.01	99
PA	12,314	2.16	89
RI	12,820	3.55	81
SC	10,116	1.00	74
SD	11,069	13.64	87
TN	10,419	1.26	77
TX	12,572	-4.21	130
UT	9,733	0.00	86
VT	10,802	-10.50	89
VA	13,254	2.46	94
WA	12,792	0.52	102
WV	9,728	3.43	92
WI	12,474	-6.89	87
WY	12,224	1.33	201
State Avg.	$12,349	2.71	105
Std. Dev.	1,900	4.80	36.2

Figure 7-6. Measures of State Fiscal Capacity



in the sample, California and West Virginia had above average ending balances (3.41% and 3.43% respectively). Arizona squeaked through with a 0.65 percent ending balance, while Illinois and Pennsylvania had more comfortable year-end totals (2.47% and 2.16% respectively).

c. Representative Tax System Index Values

Among the sample states, only California would produce more than an average tax yield by using average tax rates in all categories. Arizona and Illinois would be close to the average, while Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and West Virginia would have tax yields about 10% below the average for all states.

In sum, measured by citizen income our sample states are well distributed across the national spectrum. This raw fiscal capacity is not evenly tapped for support of public services, however. Wisconsin overspent its resources in 1984, while poverty stricken West Virginia was able to end the year with an above average balance. Moreover, if our sample states adopted the average tax rates for all types of levies they would not raise revenue equally.

State Policies Defining School Programs

We turn next to four variables reflecting how state policies are serving to define school programs. The first indicator, length of school year, reflects a quantitative commitment to educational service delivery while the second, required units for graduation, assesses state commitment to qualitative control. A second indicator of qualitative control over school programs is reflected in whether students are required to pass examinations in order to graduate from high school -- 21 states have such required exams. The final program variable is Wirt's (1980) school centralization index which measures the relative influence of state law over local decisionmaking.

Insert Table 7-7 about here.

Insert Figure 7-7 about here.

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a. Length of School Year

The average state had a 178.4 day school year. The longest school year was in MD (185.7), the shortest in NE (172). Two of our sample states have above average years -- Pennsylvania (179.6) and Wisconsin (178.8). Arizona had the shortest school year in our sample (175 days), but California, Illinois and West Virginia also had short years.

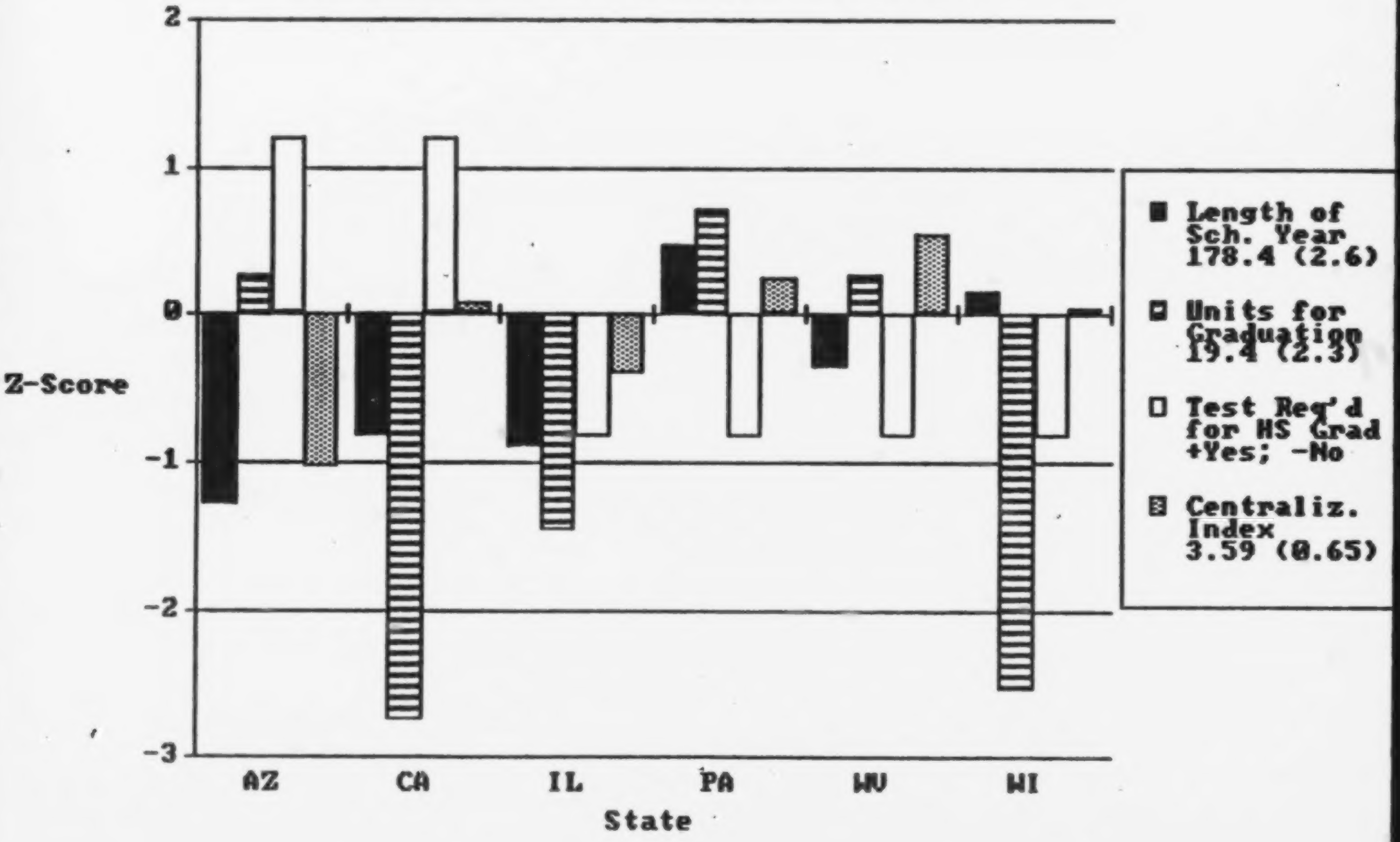
b. Units Required for Graduation

California and Wisconsin had very low statewide graduation requirements -- the lowest of all the states that actually specify the number of required units. Only the four states that leave all graduation requirements in the hands of local school boards -- CO, IA, MI and MN could be considered to have lower graduation requirements. The highest unit requirements in our sample were in Pennsylvania which requires 21 units -- tied by TX and exceeded by UT, LA, MO and OR.

Table 7-7. SCHOOL PROGRAM DEFINITION

State	Len of Sch Yr.	Units to Graduate	Require Grad Test	Cntrl Index
AL	175.4	20.0	Y	4.67
AK	175.0	21.0	N	3.38
AZ	175.0	20.0	Y	2.91
AR	175.3	20.0	N	3.57
CA	176.2	13.0	Y	3.65
CO	180.0		N	3.79
CT	180.3	20.0	N	2.68
DE	180.5	19.0	Y	3.15
DC	179.9	20.5	N	
FL	180.0	24.0	Y	4.19
GA	180.0	21.0	Y	3.24
HI	176.0	20.0	Y	6.00
ID	180.0	20.0	N	3.26
IL	176.0	16.0	N	3.32
IN	176.8	19.5	N	3.90
IA	174.8		N	3.80
KS	182.9	20.0	N	3.38
KY	174.1	20.0	N	3.90
LA	181.3	23.0	Y	3.19
ME	174.8	16.0	N	3.09
MD	185.7	20.0	Y	3.56
MA	179.6		N	2.73
MI	180.0		N	3.85
MN	177.7	20.0	N	4.10
MS	177.9	16.0	Y	3.93
MO	180.0	22.0	N	2.84
MT	180.2	20.0	N	3.47
NE	172.0	20.0	N	3.81
NV	180.0	20.0	Y	2.84
NH	180.0	19.8	Y	3.13
NJ	180.0	18.5	Y	3.87
NM	180.0	21.0	N	3.79
NY	180.0	16.0	Y	3.63
NC	180.0	20.0	N	3.80
ND	180.8	17.0	N	2.89
OH	178.9	18.0	N	3.65
OK	175.0	20.0	N	4.91
OR	177.0	22.0	Y	4.30
PA	179.6	21.0	N	3.75
RI	180.0	16.0	N	3.21
SC	180.0	20.0	Y	4.61
SD	176.6	20.0	N	3.08
TN	176.0	20.0	Y	3.48
TX	174.9	21.0	Y	2.88
UT	180.0	24.0	Y	3.42
VT	179.3	15.5	Y	3.17
VA	180.3	20.0	Y	3.88
WA	180.0	18.0	N	4.37
WV	177.4	20.0	N	3.94
WI	178.8	13.5	N	3.62
WY	175.0	18.0	N	1.86
State Avg.	178.4	19.4	40%	3.59
Std. Dev.	2.6	2.3	0.5	0.65

Figure 7-7. School Program Definition



c. High School Graduation Test

Two of the 21 states requiring high school exit tests (AZ and CA) are in our sample.

d. School Centralization Index

Two of the four states in our sample are below the national average of 3.59 on Wirt's Centralization Index (AZ and IL). Arizona, with an index value of 2.91 is the seventh most decentralized state in the nation. West Virginia has the highest centralization score in our sample. Its value of 3.94 places this state ninth from the top of the list.

In sum, as with most other indicators, our sample states present a very mixed picture of state involvement with school program definition. Illinois has low scores on all four indicators, but it is the only state with this pattern. Pennsylvania has high indicators in all areas except a required high school exit examination. Arizona has high exit requirements (both exam and unit requirements) but has decentralized decision making and a short school year. Wisconsin and California have especially low state graduation requirements, leaving this issue largely up to local school district discretion.

State Social Demography

Table 7-8 and Figure 7-8 present data on the social demography of the United States. Four social demographic variables are shown -- degree of urbanization, percent of foreign born and recent immigrants in the population, projected population growth for the present decade, and the extent to which traditionalistic or moralistic values are expressed in the political culture.

Insert Table 7-8 about here.

Insert Figure 7-8 about here.

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a. Urbanization

By design our sample states were broadly spread across the urbanization spectrum. California and Arizona are among the most highly urbanized states in the country. With 91.3% of its citizens living in cities, California is the most urbanized state in the nation. Arizona is tied for eighth place with Massachusetts, just above tenth place Illinois. At the other end of the spectrum, West Virginia with 36.2% of its population in urban centers ranks just above last place Vermont. Pennsylvania and Wisconsin are close to the national average with percentages in the mid-60s.

b. Foreign Born and Recent Immigrants

Based on 1980 census figures, California with a rapid growth in hispanic and asian immigration, had the highest proportion of foreign born and recent immigrant citizens in the nation. At 15.1% this state has more than 3-1/2 times the national average. In West Virginia, on the other hand, only 1.1% of the population is foreign born. The other four states in our sample range between these two extremes. Wisconsin is below the national average with only 2.7

Table 7-8. INDICATORS OF SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHY

State	%Urban Pop	%Foreign Born	Pop Chg 1980-90	Political Cult Indx
AL	60.0	1.0	8.0	8.57
AK	64.3	4.0	29.7	
AZ	83.8	6.0	46.5	5.66
AR	51.6	1.0	12.6	9.00
CA	91.3	15.1	16.0	3.55
CO	80.6	3.9	29.5	1.80
CT	78.8	8.6	0.7	3.00
DE	70.6	3.2	5.5	7.00
DC				
FL	84.3	10.9	36.6	7.80
GA	62.4	1.7	12.6	8.80
HI	86.5	14.2	17.5	
ID	54.0	2.5	28.0	2.50
IL	83.3	7.2	0.5	4.72
IN	64.2	1.9	3.1	6.33
IA	58.6	1.6	2.1	2.00
KS	66.7	2.0	4.0	3.66
KY	50.9	0.9	10.9	7.40
LA	68.6	2.0	12.5	8.00
ME	47.5	3.9	9.1	2.33
MD	80.3	4.6	6.2	7.00
MA	83.8	8.7	-0.8	3.66
MI	70.7	4.5	1.2	2.00
MN	66.9	2.6	6.5	1.00
MS	47.3	0.9	9.2	9.00
MO	68.1	1.7	3.0	7.66
MT	52.9	2.3	12.6	3.00
NE	62.9	2.0	4.2	3.66
NV	85.3	6.7	59.1	5.00
NH	52.2	4.4	23.4	2.33
NJ	89.0	10.3	1.8	4.00
NM	72.1	4.0	17.7	7.00
NY	84.6	13.6	-6.5	3.62
NC	48.0	1.3	9.9	8.50
ND	48.8	2.3	3.6	2.00
OH	73.3	2.8	-0.6	5.15
OK	67.3	1.9	15.5	8.25
OR	67.9	4.1	25.7	2.00
PA	69.3	3.4	-1.4	4.28
RI	87.0	8.9	0.2	3.00
SC	54.1	1.5	13.6	8.75
SD	46.4	1.4	0.9	3.00
TN	60.4	1.1	10.2	8.50
TX	79.6	6.0	22.5	7.11
UT	84.4	3.5	38.7	2.00
VT	33.8	4.1	12.0	2.33
VA	66.0	3.3	11.2	7.86
WA	73.5	5.8	21.0	1.66
WV	36.2	1.1	4.2	7.33
WI	64.2	2.7	6.7	2.00
WY	62.7	2.0	48.3	4.00
State Avg.	66.9	4.3	13.3	4.97
Std. Dev.	14.3	3.5	13.9	2.57

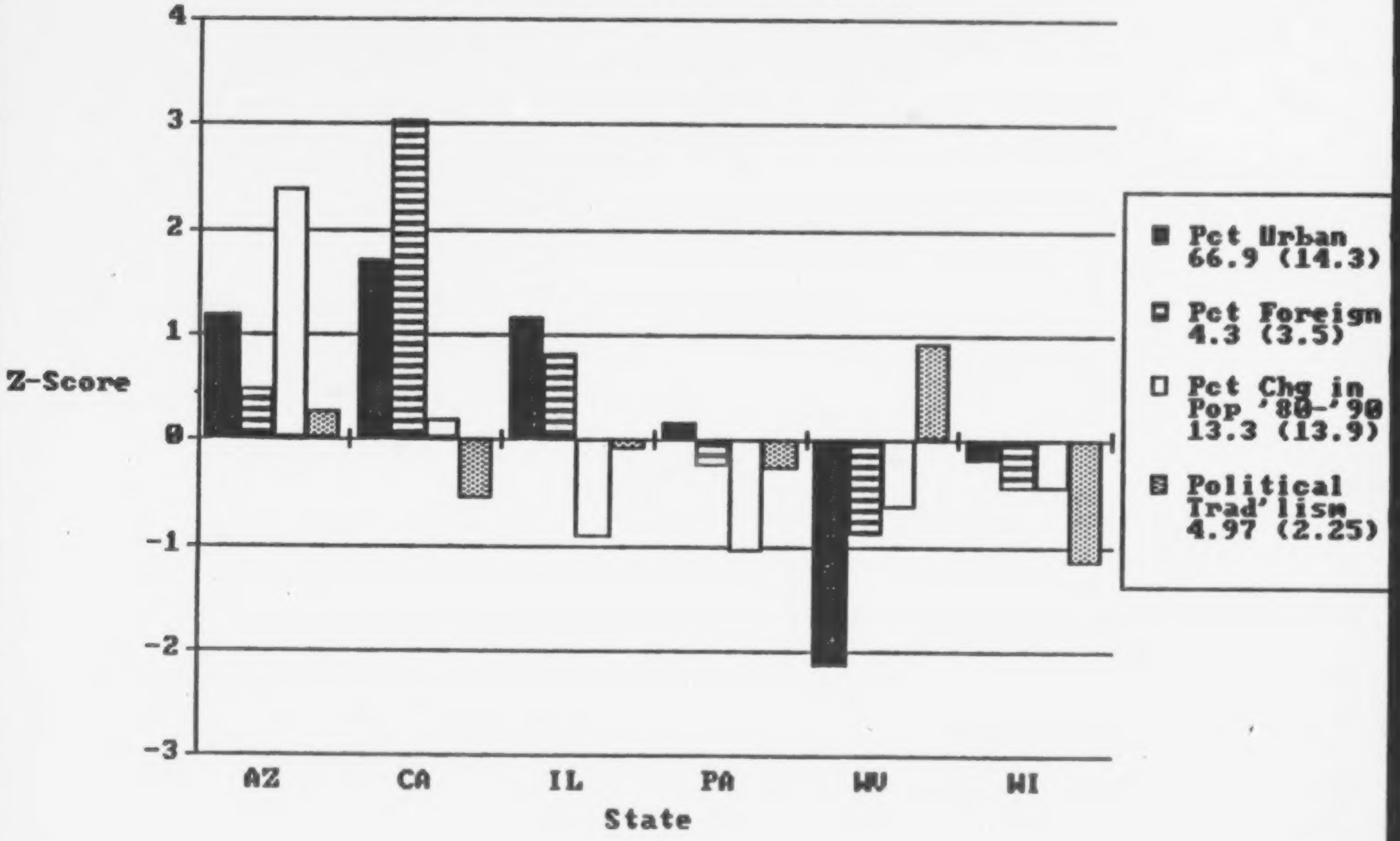

Figure 7-8. Social Demography

percent foreign born citizens, Pennsylvania is also below average (3.4%), while Arizona and Illinois have hefty foreign born population groups (6.0% and 7.2%, respectively).

c. Projected Population Change 1980-1990

While the nation as a whole is projected to grow about 13.3 percent over the decade of the 80s, this growth is expected to vary dramatically from state to state. Arizona, facing a 46.5 percent population growth, ranks third in the nation behind two very small states -- Nevada and Wyoming. The only other rapid growth state in our sample is California with a projected 16 percent increase. Pennsylvania, with a negative projected growth rate of -1.4 percent, is expected to lose population during this decade. Illinois will just about stay constant (+0.5%), while West Virginia and Wisconsin will grow at rates below the national average (4.2% and 6.7%, respectively).

d. Traditional and Moralistic Political Cultures

Sharkansky (1978) modified Elazar's (1968) political culture measure to create a linear scale indicating the degree of traditionalism in each state's political culture. Low scores indicate strongly moralistic culture values, mid-range scores identify relatively individualistic states, and high scores are associated with traditionalistic cultural values. Our own measures preserve the Elazar tripartite scales (see discussion in Chapter V), but it may be helpful to compare our sample states with the rest of the nation using the Sharkansky scale.

The greatest contrast in our sample states is between Wisconsin's moralistic 2.00 and West Virginia's traditionalistic 7.33. Wisconsin is tied with five other states, and ranks just above MN, WA and CO as among the most moralistic states in the Union. Thirteen states, including top scoring AR and MS (both with 9.00), have higher traditionalism scores than West Virginia.

The other four states in our sample tend toward the individualistic center. California has overtones of moralism while Arizona tends to favor traditionalism.

In sum, our sample states have very diverse demographic characteristics. Arizona faces extraordinarily rapid growth, California has a large number of recent immigrants, West Virginia is one of the least urbanized states. Pennsylvania is facing an actual decline in population during the 1980s. Wisconsin, with a strongly moralistic political culture, and a low level of environmental press from urbanization, immigration and population presents the most likely environment for successful educational program innovation. West Virginia's traditionalistic values, rural population distribution and low rates of change in immigration and population growth make it likely that this state will have a hard time mustering political support for substantial school reform.

Demographic Characteristics of School Children

Four measures of the demographic characteristics of children in the schools provide a framework for examining another set of important differences among the state educational systems. First, states with a younger population profile have a larger proportion of their total population in the 5-17 year old group. As a result, they have a greater demand for school services and a smaller population of taxpayers to pay for them. A second indicator, school enrollment changes in the last two years, reveals whether the schools are facing upward demand pressure.

The other two variables reported in Table 7-9 and graphically displayed for our sample states in Figure 7-9 describe the distribution of specific schooling problems. The first is the degree of racial isolation in the schools -- measured as the proportion of black students attending schools with 99-100 percent minority enrollments. The second is a measure of the proportion of the total student body transported to and from school at district expense.

Insert Table 7-9 about here.

Insert Figure 7-9 about here.

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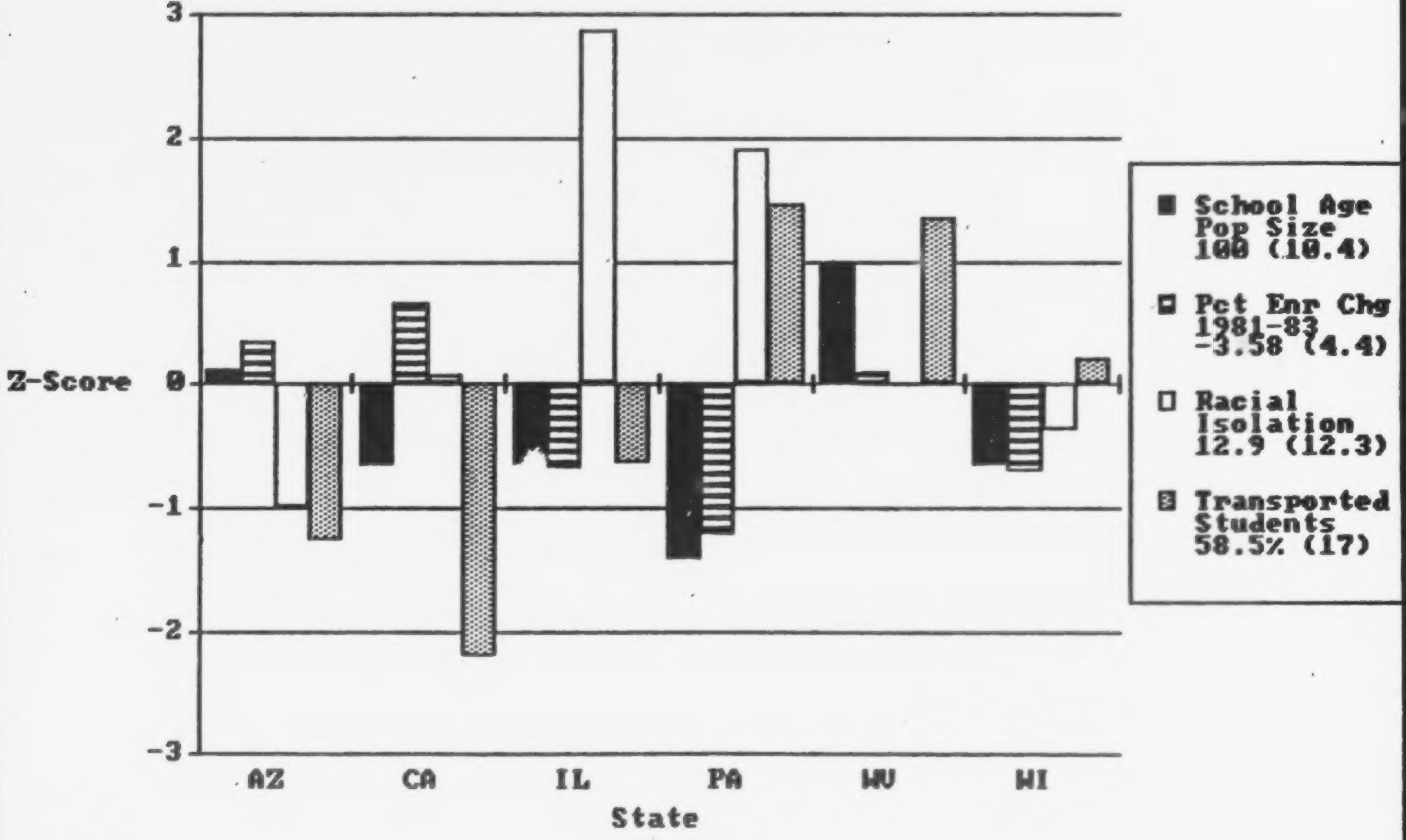
a. School Age Population Index

At 19.3 percent of its total population, West Virginia's school age population is substantially above the national average (17.1%), giving this state an index score of 113. Pennsylvania's school age population is 12 percent lower than typical, and fourth smallest in the nation (behind RI, FL and DC). Of the other states in our sample, California, Illinois and Wisconsin have lower than average

Table 7-9. INDICATORS OF SCHOOL DEMOGRAPHY

State	Sch Age Pop Indx	Enr Chg 1980-83	%Sch Race Isolated	%ada Transprt
AL	107	-4.9	24.3	58.8
AK	119	7.4	6.9	43.0
AZ	104	-2.1	0.6	36.7
AR	110	-3.5		64.2
CA	96	-0.7	13.9	20.4
CO	105	-0.7	0.2	45.2
CT	90	-10.1	9.5	67.2
DE	90	-8.0	0.8	94.7
DC	84	-11.2		
FL	83	-1.0	4.1	51.5
GA	109	-1.7	17.4	73.7
HI	95	-1.7	0.3	24.6
ID	123	1.5		59.5
IL	96	-6.6	48.4	47.2
IN	107	-6.7	19.1	68.3
IA	102	-6.9		49.1
KS	99	-2.4	2.7	43.7
KY	104	-3.3		74.1
LA	104	0.6	24.9	70.7
ME	109	-5.7		81.0
MD	96	-8.9	19.5	68.0
MA	92	-14.0		69.8
MI	113	-7.0	28.8	56.9
MN	101	-6.5	1.7	87.8
MS	107	-2.0	18.7	80.9
MO	95	-5.8	32.5	61.8
MT	111	-1.0	3.0	45.2
NE	99	-4.8	1.7	26.3
NV	100	0.6		42.1
NH	98	-4.9		66.2
NJ	92	-7.9	22.5	50.4
NM	115	-0.5	4.2	49.7
NY	90	-6.8	30.7	63.9
NC	106	-3.5	1.6	69.1
ND	102	0.3		41.3
OH	101	-6.6	4.6	74.8
OK	109	2.4		54.2
OR	99	-3.8	2.1	59.7
PA	88	-9.0	36.5	83.5
RI	85	-8.2		61.8
SC	111	-2.4	7.3	71.2
SD	105	-4.2	23.3	38.0
TN	104	-3.7	17.1	64.1
TX	114	3.1	14.4	30.1
UT	139	10.3	0.7	35.8
VT	104	-5.6		80.6
VA	104	-4.4	1.3	78.8
WA	102	-2.8		50.0
WV	113	-3.2		81.8
WI	96	-6.7	8.4	62.1
WY	118	2.7		45.5
State Avg.	103	-3.6	13.0	58.5
Std. Dev.	10.4	4.4	12.3	17.3

Figure 7-9. School Demography



student population groups, Arizona just slightly above the national average.

b. Enrollment Change 1981-83

On average, states lost 3.58 percent in school enrollments between 1981 and 1983. As is typical of other social indicators, however, the losses were far from evenly distributed. The largest loss 11.2 percent occurred in the District of Columbia; Connecticut was not far behind with a 10.1 percent loss. At the other end of the spectrum, Utah had double digit growth (10.3%). None of the states in our sample were among the nine states with increasing enrollments. California had the smallest loss -- 0.7 percent. Pennsylvania had the greatest loss -- 9.0 percent Arizona and West Virginia, like California, lost fewer than the national average of 3.58 percent of their student population. Wisconsin and Illinois joined Pennsylvania in having greater than average losses. Except in California, the losses were greatest in those states which already had lower than average school age populations (see above, Table 7-9).

c. Racial Isolation

Illinois, with black students making up slightly more than 20 percent of its total student body, had the most racially isolated schools in the country. In 1980, nearly half the black students in this state attend schools with 99-100 percent minority enrollments. With 36.5 percent of its black students in racially isolated schools, Pennsylvania schools were also racially isolated. Though they had very few black students (4.2%), Arizona had the best record for at least nominal integration of them; only 0.6 percent of their blacks attended racially isolated schools. No data were available for West Virginia, but they had such a small number of black students (3.9%) that it would be difficult to isolate them anyway.

d. Student Transportation

Nearly 60 percent of all students in the U.S. are transported to and from school each day. Seven states, including Pennsylvania and West Virginia, transport more than 80 percent of their students; Delaware transports almost 95 percent of its student body. California, the most urbanized state provides the least amount of student transportation in the nation (20.4%). Arizona and Illinois also transport fewer than the national average.

In sum, our states face very different student demographic profiles. West Virginia has a young population with an unusually high demand for education. Illinois has intense racial isolation. Pennsylvania combines substantial racial isolation with intensive student transportation and a low school age population. Arizona and California provide little transportation. Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Illinois suffered major declines in enrollment during the early 1980s.

Political Power Distribution

Table 7-10 and Figure 7-10 report three measures of political power within the states. The first measure created by Hanson (1983) assesses the formal powers of the Governor in each state. The second, created by Zeigler (1983) assess the relative strength of special interest groups in each state (on a three point scale). The meaning of the third political power variable, degree of political party competition, is a bit more complex. As developed by Bibby, et al. (1983), this variable assesses the strength of the Democratic (or Republican) party during the 1974-80 period. A very high score on this scale clearly means that political power rests with the Democratic party and a low score means Republican party dominance. In the mid-ranges, however, it is uncertain whether the scores mean that political parties are relatively weak or highly competitive. That is, party competition scores provide a comparative estimate of party strength, but do not tell us whether the overall party system is strong or weak.

Insert Table 7-10 about here.

Insert Figure 7-10 about here.

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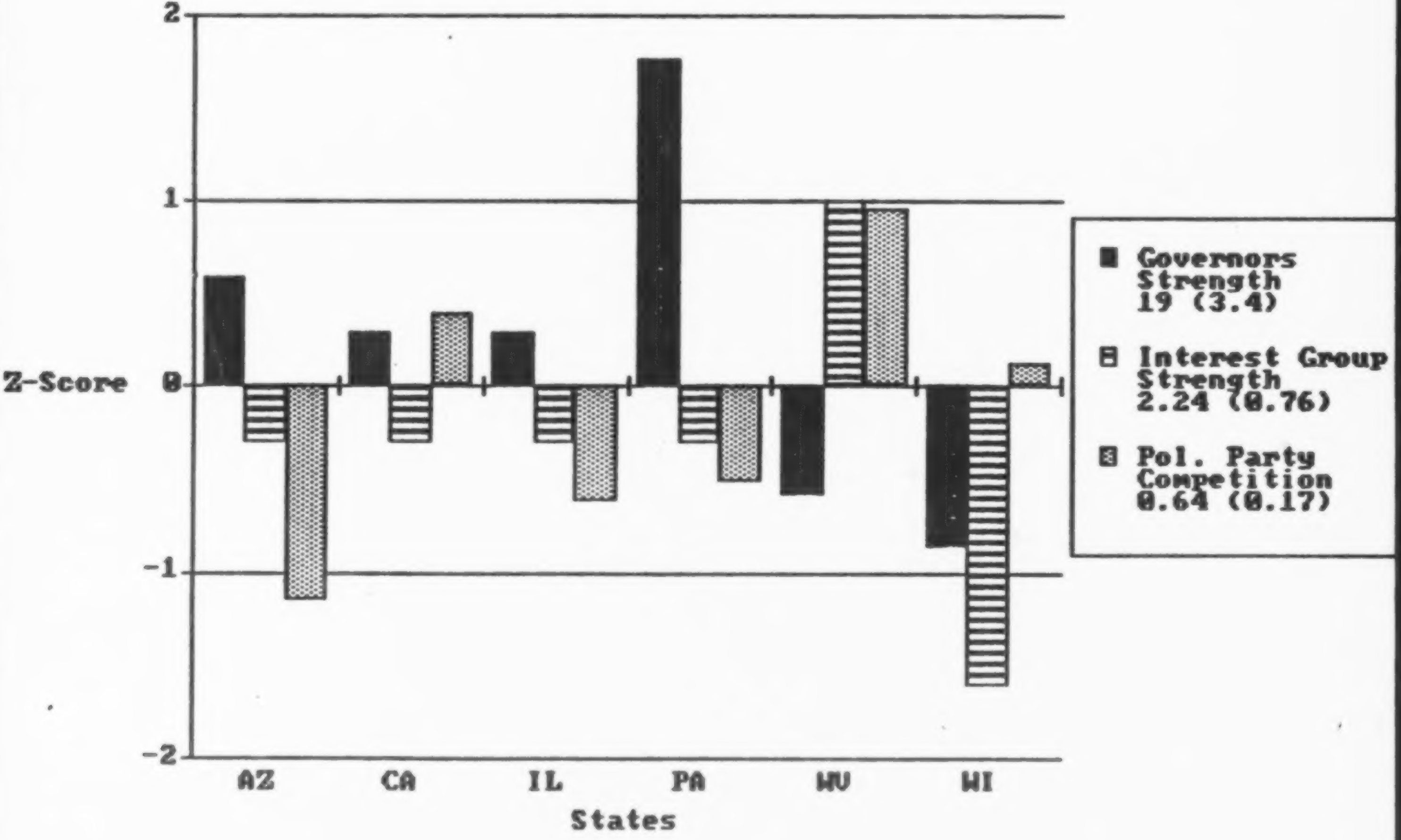
a. Governor's Formal Powers

With a score of 25 on this scale, Pennsylvania's governor ranks with New Jersey and Utah as among the strongest in the country. The weakest governor in our sample, Wisconsin, had a score of 16. This tied with MO, NE, OH, and VA -- just above the six weakest governorships (MS, TX, SC, NH, NC and NV). The other four states in our sample range close to the 19 point average for all governors. We should quickly note that the availability of specific formal powers to the governors of our states does not mean

Table 7-10. POLITICAL POWER DISTRIBUTION

State	Governor Strength	Int Grp Strength	Party Compet.
AL	18	3	0.9438
AK	22	3	0.5771
AZ	21	2	0.4482
AR	18	3	0.8630
CA	20	2	0.7081
CO	21	1	0.4429
CT	20	1	0.7336
DE	21	2	0.5490
DC			
FL	17	3	0.7524
GA	17	3	0.8849
HI	24	3	0.7547
ID	21	2	0.3898
IL	20	2	0.5384
IN	19	2	0.4145
IA	21	3	0.4539
KS	17	2	0.4671
KY	17	3	0.7907
LA	17	3	0.8762
ME	22	2	0.5164
MD	24	2	0.8509
MA	24	1	0.7916
MI	20	1	0.6125
MN	24	1	0.6680
MS	13	3	0.8673
MO	16	2	0.6932
MT	22	3	0.6259
NE	16	3	0.5166
NV	13	2	0.7593
NH	13	3	0.3916
NJ	25	1	0.7330
NM	18	3	0.7113
NY	23	1	0.5390
NC	13	3	0.8555
ND	17	1	0.3374
OH	16	2	0.5916
OK	18	3	0.7841
OR	19	3	0.6954
PA	25	2	0.5574
RI	19	1	0.8506
SC	13	3	0.8034
SD	20	2	0.3512
TN	22	3	0.6648
TX	13	3	0.7993
UT	25	2	0.4653
VT	19	2	0.3612
VA	16	2	0.7162
WA	18	3	0.5806
WV	17	3	0.8032
WI	16	1	0.6634
WY	20	2	0.3879
State Avg.	19.0	2.2	0.6427
Std. Dev.	3.4	0.8	0.1679

Figure 7-10. Political Power Context



that they have either the will or political support needed to bring those powers fully to bear on major public policy questions. All other things being equal, however, governors with greater formal powers can be expected to play a stronger role in shaping school policy.

b. Interest Group Strength

Zeigler identifies 22 states with strong political interest groups. Only West Virginia in our sample is placed in this group. He describes the interest group strength in 18 states as moderate. This group includes Arizona, California, Illinois and Pennsylvania from our sample. Wisconsin, among the remaining group of ten states with weak interest groups is the last member of our sample group.

c. Party Competition

Illinois, with a party competition score of .53, had the most evenly balanced parties within our sample. West Virginia had the strongest Democratic party in our sample (it ranked 10th, behind five states in the Southeast, MD and RI). Arizona had the strongest Republican party in our sample, ranking ahead of just ten other states. Even so, Bibby, et al. (1983) describe this state as a an effectively two-party state during the period under study.

In sum, political power is distributed in rather different ways in our six sample states. Pennsylvania has an especially strong governor, West Virginia particularly strong interest groups and the strongest Democratic party in our sample. Wisconsin has a weak governor, particularly weak interest groups, and a modified one-party Democratic party system. Arizona has the strongest Republican party in our sample. Illinois is the closest to the national averages on all three indicators, California is also close to the national means but has a stronger than average Democratic party.

Levels of Political Activity

Three indicators of general political activity provide some insight into how attentive citizens are to public policy making. The first two measures, voter registration and voter turnout, assess broad interest in the actions of the political system. The voter statistics shown in Table 7-11 and graphically presented in Figure 7-11 was taken from the 1980 presidential election data -- the last presidential election before our field work began. The third variable shown in Table 7-11 is an scale reflecting the number of educational reform measures adopted in the first two years following the publication of A Nation at Risk (Shinn and Slik, 1985). The Shinn and Slik index was generated by counting the number of reform measures passed in each state and assigning a score of 1 to states adopting 0 to 4 changes, 2 for states with 5 to 9 changes, 3 for 10 to 14, 4 for 15 to 19, and 5 if the states adopted 20 or more reform measures.

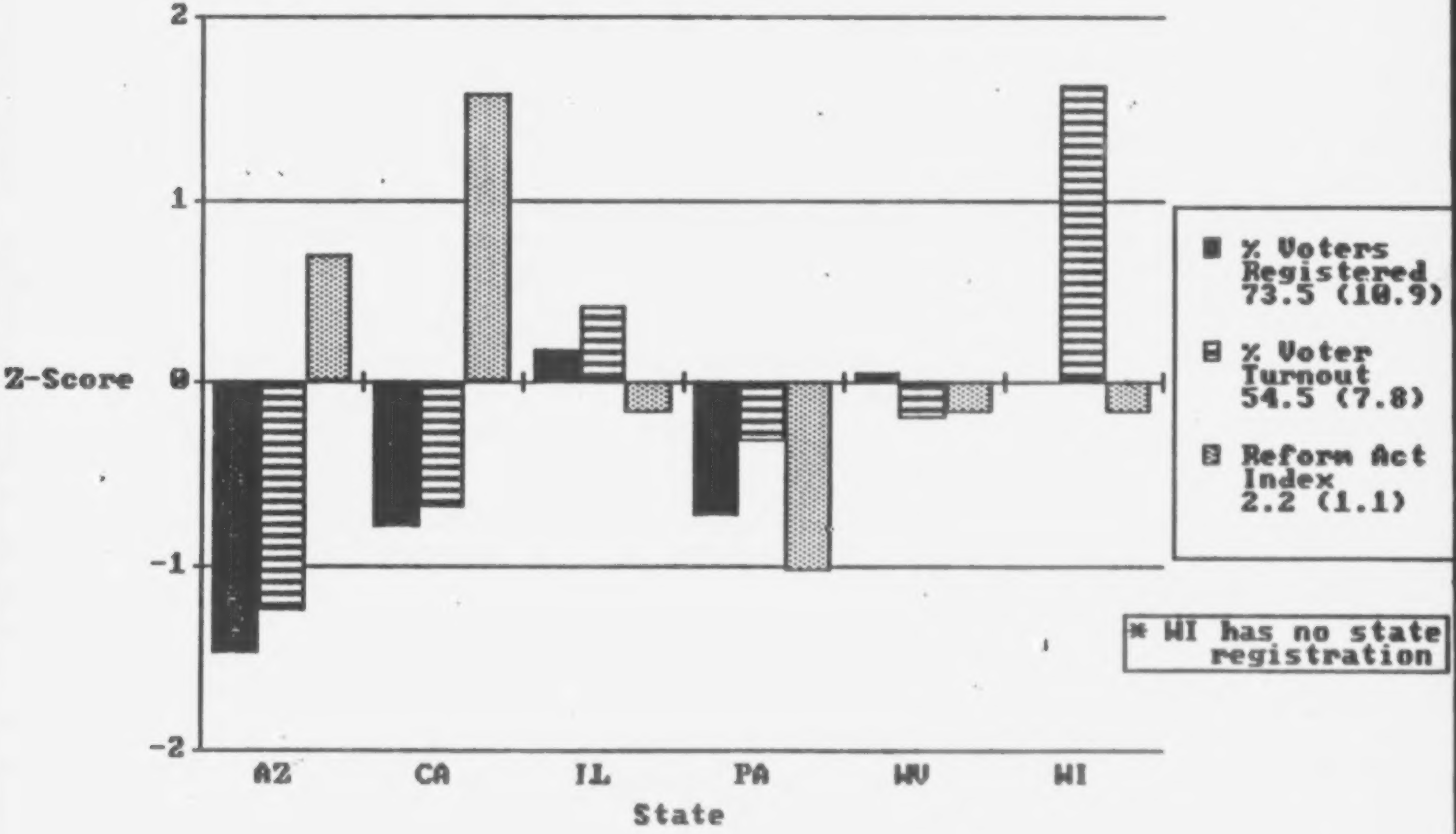
a. Voter Registration

On average, 73.5 percent of the voting age population is registered in each state. The total ranges from a high of 95.2 percent in Minnesota to a low of only 49.6 percent in Nevada. The lowest state in our sample is Arizona with a 57.3 percent

Table 7-11. MEASURES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

State	%Voter Regis.	%Voter Turnout	Sch Reform Index
AL	77.9	48.8	2
AK	94.5	57.7	1
AZ	57.3	44.7	3
AR	73.0	51.4	4
CA	64.9	49.0	4
CO	67.8	56.0	2
CT	73.9	60.9	3
DE	69.7	54.6	2
DC	58.6	35.5	
FL	63.4	48.6	5
GA	63.8	41.3	1
HI	57.9	43.5	2
ID	90.4	68.0	2
IL	75.5	57.8	2
IN	75.8	57.7	4
IA	83.5	63.0	2
KS	74.8	56.8	2
KY	69.6	50.0	3
LA	69.1	53.1	3
ME	93.8	64.6	3
MD	67.0	50.0	1
MA	73.4	59.0	1
MI	87.7	59.9	2
MN	95.2	70.1	2
MS	86.6	52.0	4
MO	79.4	58.7	2
MT	88.7	65.1	1
NE	75.9	56.8	3
NV	49.6	41.3	1
NH	82.1	57.2	1
NJ	69.4	54.9	2
NM	72.9	51.0	1
NY	60.8	47.9	2
NC	65.1	43.5	4
ND		64.9	1
OH	76.1	55.4	1
OK	66.8	52.3	3
OR	81.7	61.5	1
PA	65.5	51.9	1
RI	77.0	58.6	1
SC	56.1	40.6	5
SD	92.4	67.6	1
TN	71.2	48.8	4
TX	65.6	44.9	3
UT	83.5	64.5	1
VT	84.6	57.7	1
VA	58.9	47.6	2
WA	73.8	57.5	3
WV	74.2	52.9	2
WI		67.2	2
WY	66.0	53.3	1
State Avg.	73.5	54.5	2.2
Std. Dev.	10.9	7.8	1.1

Figure 7-11. Indicators of Political Activity



registration rate. Neither Wisconsin nor North Dakota have statewide registration systems. Neighboring states -- MN and SD -- have high registration rates. Among our sample, California and Pennsylvania share Arizona's penchant for low registration rates, Illinois and West Virginia are slightly above the national average.

b. Voter Turnout as a Percentage of Voting Age Population

Generally speaking, voter turnout follows registration patterns within the states. The highest turnout rate was in Minnesota (7[illegible].1%) while the lowest was the 35.5 percent in Washington, DC. Wisconsin had the third highest turnout in the nation at 67.2 percent. Arizona was fifth from the bottom of the list with 44.7. All of the sample states but West Virginia had turnout rates that were higher, relative to the national average than their registration rate. (This does not count WI, of course, where no registration rate is available).

c. Index of School Reform Activity

On average all states adopted between 10 and 15 reform measures following the release of the Commission on Excellence's, A Nation at Risk, report. Among our sample states, California adopted the most reforms (between 15 and 19). Arizona came next with between 10 and 15 reform measures. Pennsylvania made the fewest changes (fewer than 5), while all of the other states adopted from 5 to 9 reform measures during the two year observation period.

In sum, Illinois and Wisconsin have the most politically active citizenry among our sample states, with registration and voter turnout rates above the national average. Arizona and, to a lesser extent, California and Pennsylvania have inactive citizens. There appears to be little connection between political activism by citizens and the rate of school reform, however. California and Arizona with less active citizens had high rates of policy change. Pennsylvania, with a similarly low rate of citizen involvement, however, also had a low level of legislative reform activity. Wisconsin, with extraordinary voter turnout, had only a modest record of legislative change.

Economic Context Factors

Four aspects of the economic context for policy making round out our review of the states. The first is a measure of state and local tax effort, indexed so that the national average is set to 100 which represents an effective tax rate of 4.2 percent. The second indicator is the overall per capita expenditure for all state and local services. Third is the share of state and local expenditures going to education. This variable is also indexed to set the national average at 100. The national index value of 100 represents 24.3 percent of all state and local expenditures. Finally, we look at the index of tax progressivity developed by Hansen (1983).

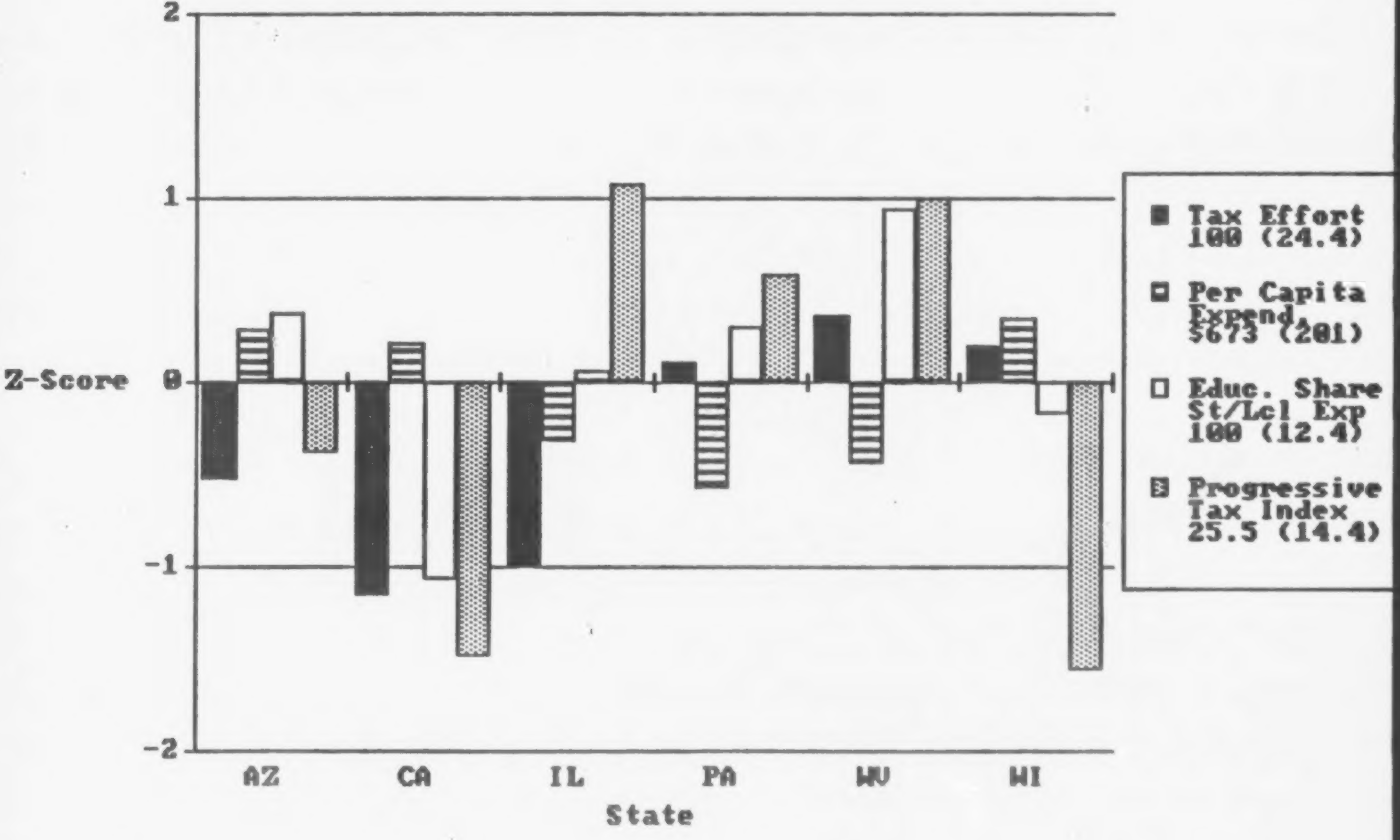
INSERT TABLE 7-12

INSERT FIGURE 7-12

Table 7-12. MEASURES OF STATE ECONOMIC CONTEXT

State	Tax Effrt Index	Exp per Capita	Indx Educ Tax Share	Indx Tax Prgrsvty
AL	93	$ 553	91	50
AK	177	1,896	70	9
AZ	93	731	105	20
AR	85	522	107	25
CA	78	716	87	4
CO	115	747	114	8
CT	89	593	106	33
DE	100	753	90	27
DC	79		65	
FL	84	527	105	31
GA	103	531	94	12
HI	90	625	70	7
ID	101	587	102	6
IL	82	609	101	41
IN	102	603	110	43
IA	112	716	103	15
KS	103	669	104	29
KY	79	525	98	42
LA	103	624	87	45
ME	115	522	101	35
MD	94	688	94	21
MA	100	593	94	10
MI	126	748	98	2
MN	113	713	99	5
MS	81	553	88	49
MO	85	524	107	38
MT	151	715	122	18
NE	104	679	110	11
NV	81	585	79	32
NH	90	547	101	28
NJ	109	674	109	24
NM	137	795	111	19
NY	121	724	91	17
NC	87	612	108	14
ND	113	733	97	16
OH	101	592	108	26
OK	110	637	113	36
OR	124	788	108	1
PA	109	557	104	34
RI	100	645	88	44
SC	101	604	113	39
SD	109	599	102	22
TN	75	479	90	47
TX	102	614	125	46
UT	144	756	116	23
VT	126	686	94	13
VA	95	628	112	30
WA	112	824	99	37
WV	115	583	112	40
WI	111	743	98	3
WY	209	1,014	113	48
State Avg.	106.2	$ 674	100	26
Std. Dev.	24.4	201	12.4	14.4

Figure 7-12. Economic Context of State Policy



a. Tax Effort, Measured against the U.S. Average of 4.2 percent

West Virginia, the poorest of our states, makes the greatest effort to raise taxes for state expenditures. The WV rate of approximately 4.8 percent is tied with CO and ME, and ranks behind 8 other states. Alaska has the highest effort index, 177 or 1.77 times the national average. In 1982 when the index was calculated, California had the lowest tax effort index among our sample states (78). Only TN had a lower effort score (75). Illinois, with an index score of 82, was also making a low tax effort. Of the remaining states in the sample, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania had tax rates slightly above the national average, while Arizona shared with CA and IL a low effort index.

b. Per Capita Expenditures

Another indicator of overall public support for state services is the aggregate per capita expenditure. On average, states spent $673 per capita on public services. The range of expenditures was quit high, however, from Alaska's $1,896 to Tennessee's $479. Among our sample, expenditures were relatively close to the national average for all states but West Virginia whose $583 was 12th lowest in the nation. Despite their relatively low tax efforts, Arizona, California and Illinois were all able to raise more than the average revenue level. Wisconsin's relative wealth enabled an above average tax effort to produce an even more above average rate of expenditure.

c. Education's Share of State and Local Expenditures

Education received more than the average 24.3 percent of all state and local expenditures in West Virginia, Arizona, Pennsylvania and Illinois. California and Wisconsin gave education a relatively smaller portion of total resources, with California giving an especially low 87% of the national average.

d. Progressivity of State Taxes

Illinois ranks ninth from the bottom and West Virginia tenth from the bottom of the Hansen (1983) tax progressivity index. Wisconsin and California have very progressive index numbers (3rd and 4th respectively). The other states range in the middle -- Arizona's tax system relatively progressive and Pennsylvania's relatively regressive by Hansen's calculation.

In sum, our states vary widely in the progressivity of their tax systems and in the overall level of tax effort being made. California has a progressive tax system, but makes a low effort and gives education relatively little of the money raised. West Virginia, with a regressive tax system makes a larger than average effort and puts a large portion of the money raised into the schools. Illinois, by contrast, with an equally regressive tax system makes a low effort and gives schools only about the average share of total expenditures. Wisconsin, with the most progressive tax system in our sample states has effort and expenditure rates fairly close to the national average. Arizona is the only state that succeeds in getting a relatively high rate of expenditure and strong support for education out of a relatively regressive tax system and a low tax effort.

Conclusion

A review of 44 selected variables on the educational, social, economic and political characteristics of all states demonstrates that our six state sample in very representative of the nation as a whole. In no case did the sample states all fall on the same side of the national mean score for a measured indicator. In only four cases was the sample divided five to one (five states on one side of the mean and only one on the other). On 19 variables the states split three above and three below the national mean. In addition, on the two variables for which one state had a missing value the means were split three to two (three states above the mean on racial isolation, and three below the mean on voter registration). On the remaining nineteen variables the states split four to two. All together, 47 percent (124) of the recorded values were above the national mean and 53 percent (138) were below the national average. The sample states are also distributed fairly well with regard to the extent of their departure from the national mean. A total of 27 percent (70) of all sample state values had standard scores of at least 1.0 (a few less than the expected 32 percent (83). These large z-score values were very evenly divided above and below the national mean scores for each variable -- 34 below the mean and 36 above).

This representativeness is comforting as we try to project our findings from the six sample states to the nation as a whole. Of course, states with unusual social and demographic characteristics may well not fit the patterns identified in our sample, but we are reasonably confident that the national consensus on policy priorities and decision making processes discovered in our study of these six states is typical of those found in most states. Moreover, the representative character of the six states in our study strongly supports the conclusion that the variations we mapped are typical of the inter-state variations found across the nation. While there are, no doubt, states with more exaggerated deviations from the sample mean than any found in our particular sample, our states are very likely to provide a clear picture of the range of differences found across the country.

We have not pressed the next logical step in data analysis -- determining whether the broad social indicators described in this chapter are effective predictors of the educational policy variations discussed in Chapters III, IV and V. There are two reasons for stopping short of examining the statistical relationships between gross social indicators and the sort of data collected in our study. First, we feel that data from a single cross-sectional study of 140 policy makers is too unreliable to be used for this purpose. The basic data collected for this research project should be replicated and tested for its statistical stability before using it to paint a probably misleading picture of the origins of specific policy priorities and policy processes. Second, and more important, we feel that no convincing theory of the origin and adoption of education policy has been developed fully enough to warrant testing it within the available data. Any effort to search for the origins of our data from individual policy makers in the broad social indicators reviewed in this chapter would be extraordinarily tenuous -- amounting to little more than a statistical "fishing expedition" that would yield interesting correlations which have little meaning.

CHAPTER VIII

PUBLIC VALUES AS ORIGINS OF POLICY ACTIONS

Among the brief written questionnaires respondents were asked to complete following their description of various policy mechanisms and competing approaches was one designed to assess their public value preferences. Four basic public values were presented in the instrument:

1. Choice (or Liberty)

This is arguably the most basic of all American public values. It was the passionate belief of the American Federalists that good government is defined by its ability to preserve freedom of choice for its citizens. This was the bedrock of classical liberalism as formulated by John Locke and John Stuart Mill. It was summed up succinctly by Thomas Jefferson in his declaration that, "That government governs best which governs least."

Choice is a difficult value to pursue through governmental action -- it seems generally to be supported more by inaction than by positive policy formation. A number of critical choice issues can be identified in current education policy debates, however. Probably the most prominent among them are vouchers and other strategies to allow families to choose among schools for their children. But many choice expansion strategies are less dramatic and less controversial. They include alternative school program development, flexibility in local school planning and greater decentralization of budget and management decisions.

2. Quality

Given the primary role played by choice or liberty under our political system, positive public policy actions must be justified in terms of their ability to enhance the quality of life for citizens. Indeed, governmental action to provide direct services is defensible only if the quality of the services provided is, on the whole, at least as good as could be reasonably expected to arise through private action.

The argument that government is intrinsically superior to private action in some areas of service has a long and convincing history. In the modern period, Rousseau's Social Contract theory best captured this argument. His theory is based on the proposition that citizens join together in collective action to achieve goals they would be incapable of reaching through private actions and thus enter into a contractual relationship with the State -- securing improved life opportunities in exchange for reduced personal liberties.

As a practical matter, Americans have believed for about a century that the overall quality of life in this country is substantially increased through a system of free, compulsory mass education. For some, the quality improvement is economic, measured by the greater productivity of well educated workers. For others, the compelling rationale for public education is civic -- schools provide an introduction to American culture and prepare responsible citizens. Still others see the benefits of public education in private terms -- increased personal capacities and expanded sensitivity to culture, language, literature and the arts.

However the goal of public education is defined, quality is destroyed if schools do not have the resources, the technical capacity, or the will to deliver services effectively. Hence, despite the variety of its ultimate ends, there is broad agreement that quality is an instrumental and immediate public value, one with which to judge school performance and formulate policies aimed at shaping their performance. This instrumental meaning of quality provides the positive basis for policy evaluation and informs strategic thinking about how to improve schools.

3. Efficiency

Americans have had an intense love-hate relationship with efficiency as a public policy value since the founding of the Republic. The cruel efficiencies of totalitarian governments are recognized and feared. But the productive efficiency of American business and industry are just as frequently held out as the model after which to design public service agencies. And the possibility that social order will dissolve in the face of popular unrest is a constant worry for many.

It was Thomas Hobbes who used the problem of efficiency and order as the cornerstone of modern political theory. Without government to create efficient order, Hobbes argued, life quickly becomes "brutish, short and ugly." For Hobbes, the arbitrariness of efficient governmental authority is a small price to pay for the resulting security and order which make civilized life possible.

In the American experience, the efficiency of Scientific Management (Taylor, 1911) is more often presented as the legitimating reason for expansive governmental authority. But recent conservative political ideologues offer a straightforward embrace of the Hobbesian argument in their call for "law and order" in daily life.

In education, the embrace of efficiency was given a tremendous boost by scientific management theorists during the first three decades of this century (see Callahan, 1962). Regulating school operations in ways intended to keep costs down and order up has been a major concern of policy makers in most states and localities. The strong presumption that expansive and generally centralized governmental authority is the proper means for achieving efficient control has recently come under attack, but it remains a core value in most education programs.

4. Equity

Though the very first "self-evident" truth set forth in the Declaration of Independence is that "all men are created equal," Americans have had much difficulty embodying this core value in public policies. Nevertheless, equity is a core public value and one which can be powerfully invoked as a basis for creating or changing policy decisions.

Karl Marx framed the problem of equity for modern political theory. He argued that inequities in society are a governmental responsibility because the inevitable dynamic of private social relationships make exacerbate the problem. In private society, Marx argued, there is a steady accumulation of wealth and privilege in the hands of one social class at the expense of others. Revolutionary warfare is, he asserted, the inevitable consequence of this instability in private social relationships. Hence the government must perform the most important function of interceding in this drift toward private domination by taking action to restore equality of opportunity to all citizens -- giving everyone a chance to benefit from economic productivity and to share in the privileges of full citizenship.

The Marxist vision of inevitable revolution by disenfranchised groups against the privileged classes has not come to fruition -- but it has been stayed primarily by the fact that political leaders have understood his argument and have acted to keep the process from following the natural tendency toward cumulative inequality.

As a policy matter, equity is complicated because it is a matter of redress rather than one of address. That is, governmental action is not justified until some identifiable inequity has been shown to be serious and in need of remedy. And then action is only justified to the extent necessary to eliminate the identified inequity. In the schools, educators have been asked to treat equity problems on two levels -- to provide equal opportunities within and across the schools to all children, and to give disadvantaged children educational resources that will enable them to achieve greater equity in society after they leave the school. These two problem levels do not always lend themselves to compatible policy solutions, but both have been offered as the basis for action.

Measuring Values

The instrument used to measure respondents' value preferences consisted of a series of 18 semantic differential type items asking them to rank the relative importance of twelve education policy problems. Each item consisted of two problems separated by a line divided into six segments, thus:

INCREASING
PROGRAM ____:____:____::____:____:____ MAKING PROGRAM MORE COST-
FLEXIBILITY EFFICIENT

As shown in Appendix B, respondents were asked:

> What do you feel are the important education policy problems in your state?
>
> Indicate your views by placing an "x" on the line nearer to the phrase in each pair that you feel is more important. Mark the space closest to the end of the line if that item is much more important than the other; mark the next space if it is somewhat more important; and mark the space close to the center of the line if it is only a little more important.

A total of 12 different policy problem phrases were presented in the instrument. Each phrase was designed to assess respondents' value preference in one of three policy domains: program definition, finance, and school organization & governance. Four items were developed in each policy domain, one representing each of the four fundamental public values: choice, quality, efficiency and equity. The 12 items are displayed in the rows and columns of Figure 8-1 according to the intersection of value and policy domain reflected in each.

Insert Figure 8-1 about here.

Items were paired within each policy area, but no comparisons were requested across the three different policy domains. Respondents indicated relative preferences for each value within each sphere. They were assigned scores for each phrase listed in the bi-polar pairs (a positive score for the item closest to their "x" and a negative score for the other item). Responses were scored 1 if an x was close to the center of the line, 2 if the x was on the middle segment, and 3 when the x was in the space closest to the end of the line.

The mean scores for all respondents are shown in brackets under each phrase in Figure 8-1. Several important observations about the value preferences of our sample of state policymakers can be made on the basis of these item mean scores. The educational quality items, for example, were ranked first in all three domains, indicating that this value is widely held to be the most important consideration in current policy debates.

The mean scores for all items in the finance and the organization/governance domains have the same rank order -- quality first, followed by efficiency and equity, with choice ranked a distant last. By contrast, in dealing with school program

FIGURE 8-1. PUBLIC VALUES INSTRUMENT ITEMS

[Mean Scores Shown in Brackets]

VALUE	PROGRAM	FINANCE	ORGANIZATION & GOVERNANCE
EFFICIENCY:	Making programs more cost-effective [-2.01]	Improving the use of education tax dollars [0.82]	More efficient school management [0.91]
EQUITY:	Giving more attetion to children with special needs [0.36]	Greater equalization of resources [0.08]	Broader participation in decision making [-1.12]
QUALITY:	Setting higher academic standards [2.71]	Increasing the level of funding for schools [2.63]	Developing quality conscious leadership [3.51]
CHOICE:	Increasing program flexibility [-1.07]	Reducing restrictions on local expenditures [-3.53]	Providing more choices for families & children [-3.29]

problems, respondents ranked efficiency (represented by the phrase "Making programs more cost-effective") last, well behind both equity and choice values. Since our intent was to produce an instrument containing three different scales for assessing the same four values, this difference could be seen as a measurement problem -- but our interview data suggest otherwise. Program efficiency is not seen as a primary mechanism for improving overall educational quality. More efficient management and financing are seen as directly related to quality improvement, but our respondents tend to view a cost-benefit approach to program development as a threat to program quality.

We were a bit surprised to see the consistently negative scores for the three choice items. The interviews did not suggest that policy makers were opposed to expanding educational choice -- though the emphasis on improving school quality was clearly the dominant theme in most policymakers' remarks. The data from this instrument clearly suggest, however, that our respondents would sacrifice choice (especially in the fiscal and organization/ governance domains) in order to pursue quality improvement.

The receding support for educational equity is clearly evident in our data. The equity problems of finance equalization and expanded participation in decision making were ranked third -- well behind quality and efficiency considerations. In the program domain equity concerns related to the development of programs for children with special needs were a distant second (behind setting higher academic standards).

The scores on our education policy values instrument are ipsative -- that is, positive scores on any one item are matched by negative scores on another, resulting in a grand mean of zero for each individual (and for the entire sample). As a result, it is possible to estimate the extent of agreement among all 140 respondents on the rank ordering of the values embodied in their means scores. To do so, we simply compare the variance of the group mean scores within each policy domain with the average item variance for the same items. The group means in the organization/governance domain have the largest variance (6.31). That represents about 48% of the 13.16 average response variance for each of the four items in this domain. Hence, on the average, nearly half the variance in each individual's response to the instrument was shared by all respondents. That represents a remarkable degree of consistency across the sample.

In the finance domain agreement among respondents was less strong (the variance of 5.01 for the group means representing only about 30% of the average item variance of 16.63). In the program area, value consensus was even less strong -- the variance of the means was only 3.17, about 21% of the 15.06 average for the variance of the individual items. These numbers indicate that our respondents were more than twice as strong in their agreement about the rank ordering of values in the organization/governance arena than in the area of program policy problems. In the finance domain, agreement was greatest in the rejection of choice as an important policy value. The item "Reducing restrictions on local expenditures" received the lowest overall mean (-3.53) of all items in the questionnaire, indicating strong agreement that this is not a pressing problem for state policymakers at this time.

Averaging Across the Four Domains

Overall preference scores for each of the four competing public values were generated by summing across the program, finance and organization/governance domains. Distribution statistics on the four value preferences for the 140 policy makers in the sample are shown in Table 8-1.

Insert Table 8-1 about here.

As is obvious from the figures in Table 8-1, the strongest bias among the respondents is toward quality oriented definitions of education policy issues. Quality and choice items were seen as most antithetical, while efficiency and equity values were close to each other and very close to the grand mean of zero.

By giving negative mean scores to all but the quality value option, our policy maker sample was confirming the obvious fact that educational quality has replaced the equity theme of the past two decades and now holds the dominance that was reserved for efficiency oriented concerns of the 1920s and 30s. The variance in the mean scores shown in Table 8-1 is 35.29, which represents about 57% of the average variance in the four basic values. This is a substantial improvement over the 48% agreement within the organization/governance sub-scale, and an even greater improvement

TABLE 8-1. VALUE PREFERENCE STATISTICS FOR ALL POLICY MAKERS

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Quality	8.85	8.01	- 9.0	27.0
Efficiency	- .28	9.00	-19.0	20.0
Equity	- .68	7.42	-21.0	22.0
Choice	-7.89	7.08	-23.0	15.0

TABLE 8-2. STATE BY STATE MEAN VALUE PREFERENCE SCORES

Value	AZ	CA	IL	PA	WV	WI
Quality	6.53	10.35	10.56	8.78	8.53	9.38
Effency	2.33	-3.35	.35	.18	-2.00	-1.13
Equity	-2.93	-1.12	-1.30	-.07	3.21	-.71
Choice	-5.93	-5.88	-9.61	-8.89	-9.74	-7.54

over the 30% and 21% agreement variance in the finance and program domains.

Note, however, that substantial disagreements among respondents are also present. The standard deviations, and especially the range data presented in the table show the extent of disagreement. With possible minimum and maximum scores ranging from -27 to +27, we can see that individuals within the sample group have taken nearly all possible value positions.

Comparison among the states

As indicated in the state by state breakdown of mean scores presented in Table 8-2, differences among individual respondents are partially explained by differences in value preference across the states.

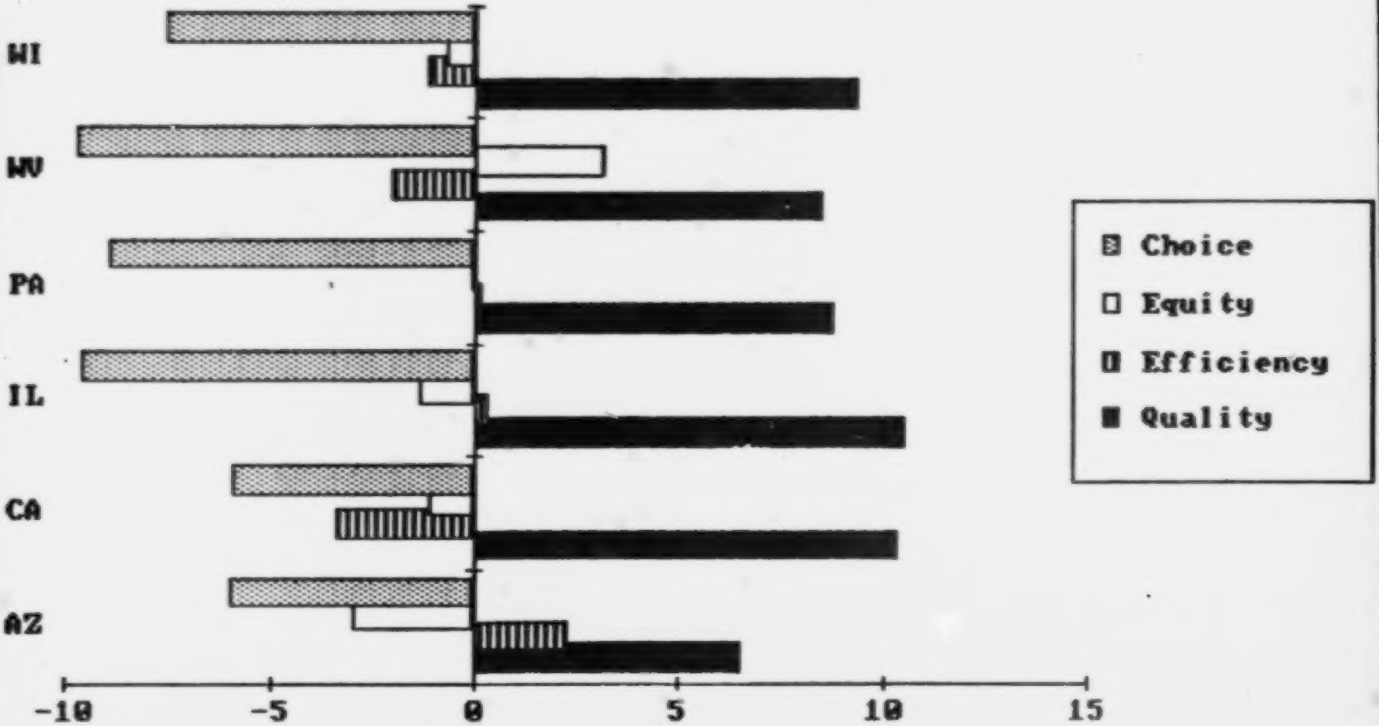
Insert Table 8-2 about here.

As confirmed by the graphic representation of the data presented in Figure 8-2, all states shared the view that quality is the most pressing policy problem and that choice is most easily sacrificed to get it.

Insert Figure 8-2. about here.

Though the value of quality was ranked first in every state, it was highest in Illinois and California and least dominant in Arizona. The largest range in value preferences

Figure 8-2. State Policy Value Preferences



Statewide Mean Scores for Each Value Preference concerned the equity items which went from a high score of +3.21 in West Virginia (a state just brought under court order to do something about equality of educational opportunity at the time of our study) to a low of -2.93 in Arizona. There were also reasonably strong inter-state variations in preference for efficiency and choice policy values. Efficiency was most strongly embraced by Arizona policymakers while it was most frequently rejected by California respondents. Choice as a public value was rejected in all states, but the rejection in Arizona and California was much less pronounced than that in Illinois and West Virginia.

Discriminant Analysis of State Variations

Table 8-3 presents a multiple discriminant analysis of the twelve individual policy value items, when respondents are grouped by state. As shown in the table, one very powerful discriminant function is generated (the multiple R of .50 means that it accounts for about 25% of the group member variance). An additional 18% (multiple R = .43) is explained by a second function whose low statistical reliability (p = .11) requires that we interpret it with caution.

Insert Table 8-3 about here.

As reported in the top part of Table 8-3, the strongest contributors to the more reliable first function are the items drawn from the finance domain. The discriminant function

TABLE 8-3. MULTIPLE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS ON POLICY PROBLEM PERCEPTIONS

(Groups Defined by State)

STANDARDIZED CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

PROBLEM		FUNC #1 R=.50,p=.00 X^2=79.5,df=45	FUNC #2 R=.43,p=.11 X^2=42.1,df=32
Reducing Restrictions	(FinChoice)	-0.773**	0.080
Greater Equalization	(FinEquity)	0.474*	0.211
Increasing Funding	(FinQuality)	0.383*	-0.370
Improving Tax Use	(FinEffency)	-0.230	0.114
Broader Participation	(OrgEquity)	0.211	0.031
Cost-Effective Prgms	(PgmEffency)	-0.088	0.068
Providing More Choice	(OrgChoice)	0.000	-0.578**
Attend to Spec. Needs	(PgmEquity)	-0.047	-0.484*
Increase Flexibility	(PgmChoice)	0.070	0.361*
More Efficient Mgt.	(OrgEffency)	-0.118	0.257
Quality Leadership	(OrgQuality)	-0.083	0.196
Higher Academic Stds.	(PgmQuality)	0.070	0.098

CANONICAL DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS EVALUATED AT GROUP CENTROIDS

STATE	FUNC #1	FUNC #2
Arizona	-0.836	0.380
California	-0.210	-0.090
Illinois	0.594	0.619
Pennsylvania	-0.108	-0.221
West Virginia	0.853	0.091
Wisconsin	0.069	-0.828

GROUP MEANS

	Program				Finance				Organ/Governance			
STATE	EFF	EQU	QUA	CHO	EFF	EQU	QUA	CHO	EFF	EQU	QUA	CHO
AZ	-1.3	-0.3	2.4	-0.8	2.1	-1.1	0.2	-1.2	1.5	-1.5	3.9	-3.9
CA	-2.8	0.2	3.3	-0.7	-0.2	-0.2	2.9	-2.5	-0.3	-1.2	4.2	-2.7
IL	-2.2	-1.3	3.3	-0.7	-0.2	-0.2	2.9	-2.5	2.0	-1.0	3.6	-4.7
PA	-2.3	1.7	2.4	-1.8	0.9	-0.2	3.0	-3.7	1.6	-1.6	3.3	-3.4
WV	-1.9	0.4	2.4	-0.9	0.4	2.7	2.7	-5.8	-0.5	0.1	3.4	-3.0
WI	-2.0	1.4	2.5	-2.0	0.6	-1.0	4.2	-3.8	0.2	-1.2	2.7	-1.8
TOTAL	-2.0	0.4	2.7	-1.1	0.8	0.1	2.6	-3.5	0.9	-1.1	3.5	-3.3

coefficients for fiscal choice and efficiency are both negative, while those for finance equity and quality are positive. Hence, the best discrimination among the states separates those who favor equalization of resources and an overall increase in the level of funding from those who would be more willing to reduce restrictions on local budgets and who see some need to improve the use of tax dollars.

The distribution of the state respondents is shown in the middle section of Table 8-3. West Virginia respondents have the largest positive centroid score, indicating strong embrace of the equity/quality perspective. Arizonans showed the most negative centroid, indicating an embrace of the choice/efficiency approach to finance.

The second, weaker, discriminant function is dominated by the items related to organization and program. Organizational choice ("Providing more choices for families & children") has the largest coefficient (-.578). It is closely followed by the program equity item ("Giving more attention to children with special needs"). Also contributing substantially to this function is the financial quality item ("Increasing the level of funding for schools"). Contrasting with these three items are program choice (the item "Increasing program flexibility") and organizational efficiency ("More efficient school management"). In essence, this second function contrasts an emphasis on traditional school improvement strategies (more money, special programs, and greater choice for families) with a technical managerial approach rooted in program flexibility and better management.

Illinois and Arizona tend to embrace the technical approach, while Wisconsin respondents gave greatest support to the more traditional approach to school improvement.

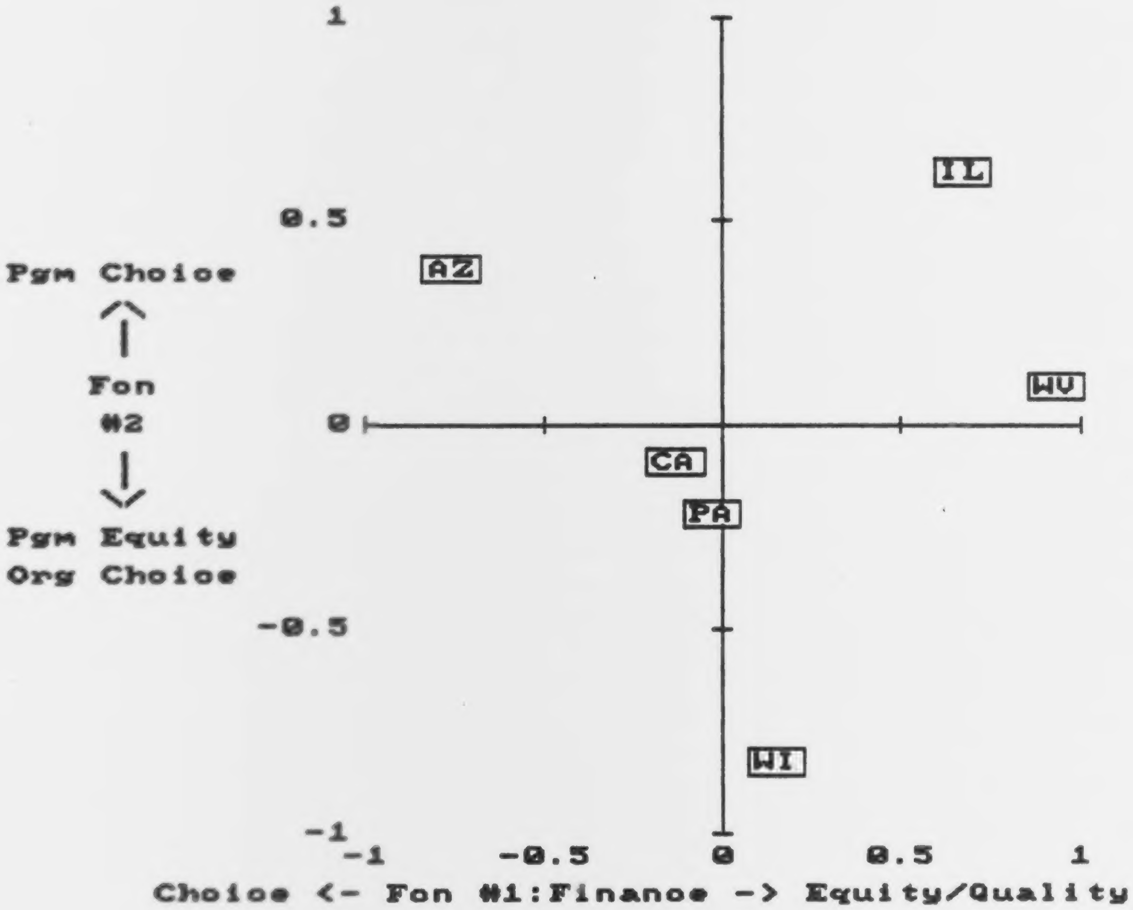
The state centroids from Table 8-3 are displayed graphically in Figure 8-3. As shown in the figure, with near zero centroids on both functions California and Pennsylvania serve as the hub of the distribution. The other states are scattered around this hub. West Virginia, indifferent on the question of how to handle school improvement gives singular emphasis to financial equity and quality. Illinois shares the West Virginia finance perspective, but adds a technical management emphasis. Arizona tends to share the Illinois management view, but gives strong support to local control over finances. Wisconsin, being neutral on the finance question and uniquely embraces the traditional school improvement strategies, is located at the bottom of the figure.

Insert Figure 8-3 about here.

Policy Values and Political Cultures

Having noted that the value preferences of our respondents do vary systematically from one state to another, it seemed appropriate to test whether these value preferences are related to the political cultures of the states. As shown in Table 8-4,

Fig. 8-3. Discriminant Centroids
State Policy Goal Preferences



however, we found virtually no relationship between value preference and political culture perspective among the respondents. None of the 48 correlation coefficients generated when the three culture indices are correlated with each of the 12 policy value items and with the four aggregate scales proved to be significant. The closest to significance was the -.148 correlation between traditionalist culture scores and the organizational choice item (but this had a probability of significance of only about .14, well below the .05 level typically used as a measure of significant relationship).

Insert Table 8-4. about here.

Value Preferences and State Policy Mechanisms

Our analysis then determined whether inter-state differences in value preference are related to respondent views of the state policy mechanisms examined in Chapter 3. Since both the ranking of various SPMs and the value preferences differ systematically across states, we were interested in knowing whether these differences are related. We were not particularly interested in whether value preferences are responsible for individual differences in reported SPM ranking (that would be of interest in explaining individual variations, but not helpful in accounting for inter-state differences). The simplest way to get a measure of association between state value preferences and state SPM rankings is to correlate the state mean scores on each

TABLE 8-4. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN POLITICAL CULTURE AND PUBLIC VALUES

(Pearson Product Moment Correlations; all p-values exceed .10)

Public Value		Cultural Perspective Individual	 Traditional	 Moral
Cost-Effective Programs	PGMEF	-0.007	-0.033	0.062
Attend to Spec. Needs	PGMEQ	0.136	-0.121	0.090
Higher Academic Stds.	PGMQU	-0.094	0.110	-0.090
Increase Flexibility	PGMCH	-0.039	0.048	-0.067
Improving Tax Use	FINEF	0.072	-0.038	-0.025
Greater Equalization	FINEQ	-0.094	0.072	-0.013
Increasing Funding	FINQU	0.056	-0.055	0.052
Reducing Restrictions	FINCH	-0.035	0.023	-0.018
More Efficient Mgt.	ORGEF	0.008	-0.073	0.084
Broader Participation	ORGEQ	-0.023	0.078	-0.088
Quality Leadership	ORGQU	-0.083	0.134	-0.112
Providing More Choice	ORGCH	0.108	-0.148	0.121
Aggregate Value Scales:				
	EFFICIENCY	0.033	-0.064	0.054
	EQUITY	0.008	0.013	-0.002
	QUALITY	-0.055	0.087	-0.069
	CHOICE	0.014	-0.035	0.015

of these variables. Table 8-5 shows the correlation coefficients of state mean scores on each of the value scales with the mean SPM ranks and the respondent belief that more or less attention should be given to each SPM. With only six state means to correlate, it takes a coefficient of .729 or greater to produce statistical significance (at the .10 level). For our purposes, however, this technical requirement is not too important. On the one hand, our sample of policy makers is small and could easily be biased, hence the possibility that the correlations are spurious is real. On the other hand, the mean score for each state was produced by averaging over the state group, making the score used in this correlation much more reliable than the single measure assumed in establishing the .729 minimum value for significance.

Insert Table 8-5 about here.

As indicated in Table 8-5, we found many strong relationships between the average value preference scores and the average state SPM rankings. To interpret the data in this table it must be remembered that high ranking of an SPM yields a low number (e.g., top ranked school finance had a grand mean of 1.555, while building policies ranked last with an overall mean of 5.894). By contrast, increasing preference for any of the basic values yields a higher numerical score. Hence a negative correlation between a value and a mechanism indicates a positive

TABLE 8-5. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN STATE POLICY MECHANISMS AND EDUCATION POLICY GOALS

(Only correlations greater than .30 are shown)

Policy Mechanism	Effency	Equity	Quality	Choice
Finance	0.666	---	-0.881	---
Personnel	-0.686	0.892	0.451	-0.639
Testing	-0.447	0.621	---	-0.334
Program	---	---	-0.398	0.576
Governance	---	---	-0.349	0.728
Curriculum	0.333	---	0.432	-0.547
Buildings	0.508	-0.785	---	0.472
Desire for Greater or Lesser Attention				
Attend-Finance	---	0.662	---	-0.815
Attend-Personnel	---	---	0.638	-0.698
Attend-Testing	---	---	0.793	-0.738
Attend-Program	-0.763	---	0.715	0.322
Attend-Governance	---	-0.366	0.712	---
Attend-Curriculum	-0.519	---	---	0.315
Attend-Building	-0.565	0.501	---	---

relationship between rank and value preference; a positive correlation coefficient indicates the opposite.

Careful review of the correlation coefficients shown in Table 8-5 indicates that:

1. Finance policies tend to receive more attention where value preference is given to quality, and less attention when efficiency is the preferred value.
2. Personnel policies are of greatest interest where efficiency and choice values are higher, they move down in attention as equity and quality values go up.
3. Testing policy follows the same pattern as personnel policy, but is much less strongly associated with value preferences.
4. Program definition policy is weakly related in a positive way with quality preference, and a bit more negative in its relationship to an emphasis on choice.
5. Governance policy attention follows the same pattern as program definition, but the relationship to choice is even more negative.

6. Curriculum materials policy attention is positively associated with a choice value preference and a bit negatively related to quality and efficiency emphases.

7. Building policy emphasis is an important consideration in states where equity is given greater emphasis, it is negatively associated with efficiency and choice values.

The correlation coefficients reported in the lower part of Table 8-5 indicate that greater attention to four policy domains (testing, program, governance and personnel) is urged in states where quality is emphasized. Finance and building policy attention is emphasized where equity is the primary concern. Efficiency and choice values generally lead to a belief that state attention to various policy mechanisms should be reduced, rather than increased. An efficiency emphasis leads to a desire for lowering the emphasis placed on program definition, curriculum materials and building policies. (Actually, this means only a lower level of pressure for increased attention to these policy issues, since most respondents called for greater state level attention in all policy domains). Embracing choice as a value leads to a lowering of concern with state level school finance, testing and personnel policies, balanced by some increase in interest in program definition and curriculum materials development.

To summarize, in states where quality is most strongly embraced (Illinois and California) there is also a stronger than average tendency to rank school finance as the most prominent policy mechanism. The opposite is true for states scoring high on efficiency (Arizona) -- they report the lowest relative ranking for finance.

The relative ranking of the Personnel Certification and Training policy mechanism was related to both efficiency and choice value preferences. Arizonans with the highest efficiency preference was also highest in attention to personnel issues, West Virginia, with the lowest choice score was lowest in personnel policy attention.

The only value to affect the ranking of Student Testing and Assessment policy was equity. West Virginia's very high sensitivity to equity questions following a recent court mandate was accompanied by the lowest ranking of the testing policy mechanism. Low interest in equity policy in Arizona was associated by intense attention to testing and assessment policy. Pennsylvania and Wisconsin were outliers on this scale -- their near-zero scores of -.07 and -.71 for equity were associated with the very high levels of attention to testing and assessment policy questions.

Program definition, school governance and curriculum materials policy mechanisms were all related to the choice value preference scores. Interest in curriculum materials was positively associated with the choice value preference, while the program definition and governance mechanisms were negatively affected by the choice value preference.

Building and facilities policy interest was positively related to an interest in equity, but negatively related to efficiency scores. This relationship was strongly affected by the West Virginia respondents who ranked building policy as quite important -- the court having mandated equalization of school facilities in that state.

Values and Policy Approaches

Table 8-6 presents the correlations between the four public values and the alternative approaches to policy within each of the seven broad state policy mechanisms. As in the case of the SPM rankings and the preferred levels of attention data shown in Table 8-5, this table has an array of impressively large correlation coefficients. There is obviously a strong relationship between policy preference and value commitment among across our six state sample. Figure 8-4 summarizes in non-statistical terms the relationships shown in Table 8-6. The four value preferences are shown in the columns of the figure, and the seven state policy mechanisms make up the rows.

Insert Table 8-6 about here.

The cells of Figure 8-4 show how value preferences affected policy approach preferences across the six state sample. The personnel certification and training case was the clearest

TABLE 8-6. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ALTERNATIVE POLICY APPROACHES AND EDUCATION POLICY GOALS

(Only correlations greater than .30 are shown)

Policy Approach	Effiency	Equity	Quality	Choice
Finance-Equalize	---	-0.462	0.419	0.494
Finance-Fix Amount	---	0.809	---	-0.580
Finance-Target	---	---	-0.437	0.321
Finance-Finance	0.826	-0.542	-0.531	---
Finance-Offset	-0.498	0.536	0.674	-0.623
FinPref-Equalize	-0.378	-0.311	---	0.645
FinPref-Fix Amount	---	0.566	-0.477	-0.435
FinPref-Target	0.348	0.377	-0.348	-0.546
FinPref-Finance	0.480	-0.638	---	---
FinPref-Offset	-0.630	---	0.625	---
Personnel-Certify	---	---	-0.732	0.377
Personnel-ProfDevel	---	-0.723	---	0.777
Personnel-Account	-0.894	0.469	---	---
Personnel-JobDef	---	0.624	---	-0.952
PerPref-Certify	0.659	-0.468	-0.770	0.442
PerPref-ProfDevel	---	-0.800	0.404	0.557
PerPref-Account	-0.715	---	0.583	0.494
PerPref-JobDef	---	0.614	---	-0.838
Test-Format	---	-0.319	0.671	---
Test-Placement	-0.829	0.777	---	---
Test-Evaluate	---	0.522	---	-0.641
Test-NonAcademic	0.767	-0.724	---	---
Test-MandateLocal	---	0.480	-0.390	---
TestPref-Format	0.500	---	-0.344	---
TestPref-Place	-0.461	---	0.810	---
TestPref-Evaluate	---	0.567	-0.606	---
TestPref-NonAcad	0.601	-0.731	---	---
TestPref-MandateLcl	-0.601	0.477	---	---
Program-TimeReqs	0.683	---	---	-0.677
Program-Subjects	---	-0.384	---	0.933
Program-Standards	---	---	0.504	-0.610
Program-SpecGrps	-0.940	0.498	0.371	---
PrgPref-TimeReqs	-0.547	0.596	---	---
PrgPref-Subjects	0.787	-0.813	-0.496	0.469
PrgPref-Standards	-0.397	-0.384	0.815	---
PrgPref-SpecGrps	---	0.481	---	-0.446

TABLE 8-6. CONTINUED

Policy Approach	Effiency	Equity	Quality	Choice
Govern-StateRedistr	---	---	---	---
Govern-IncreasState	0.623	-0.831	---	---
Govern-SiteLvl	0.388	---	---	-0.527
Govern-Teachers	---	-0.354	---	0.850
Govern-Students	---	0.603	0.615	-0.905
Govern-Admins	---	0.540	---	-0.777
Govern-Citizens	-0.718	0.356	0.864	-0.322
Govern-District	-0.304	---	-0.401	0.459
GovPref-StateRedis	---	-0.304	---	---
GovPref-IncrState	-0.433	-0.428	0.615	0.478
GovPref-SiteLvl	---	---	0.572	-0.426
GovPref-Teachers	---	-0.478	0.445	---
GovPref-Students	---	0.799	---	-0.739
GovPref-Admins	---	0.619	---	-0.649
GovPref-Citizens	---	---	0.409	---
GovPref-District	-0.579	0.672	---	---
Curric-MandateLocal	---	-0.447	0.427	0.525
Curric-Scope & Seq	-0.363	---	0.508	---
Curric-SpecialMatls	0.663	---	-0.917	---
CurPref-Mandate	---	-0.518	---	---
CurPref-Scope & Seq	-0.494	0.750	---	-0.457
CurPref-SpecMatls	0.482	-0.946	---	0.843
Building-TechReview	---	---	---	---
Building-Planning	0.480	-0.475	---	---
Building-Remediation	-0.635	0.419	---	---
Building-NewCapacity	---	---	0.403	-0.592
BldgPref-TechReview	-0.746	0.377	---	---
BldgPref-Planning	---	---	---	---
BldgPref-Remediation	---	---	-0.699	---
BldgPref-NewCapacity	---	---	0.619	-0.408

demonstration of relationship between value preferences and policy approach priorities. Of the four alternative approaches identified in our early interviews and offered to respondents for analysis, one was positively related and one was negatively related to each of the four value preferences. Efficiency oriented states embraced the accountability approach to personnel and rejected pre-service training and certification. Equity oriented states endorsed the professional development approach to personnel while rejecting re-definition of teacher jobs. The higher the level of preference for quality, the more states take a pre-service training and certification approach to personnel policy, while rejecting accountability strategies. And choice oriented states emphasized the need for re-definition of teacher jobs and rejected the professional development approach.

It is especially important to note that there is a strong symmetry between the efficiency and quality value preferences and between the equity and choice perspectives. Quality oriented states embrace improved teacher training, but are not sanguine about accountability policies; the reverse is true where efficiency is the dominant value. Equity orientations accept what choice enthusiasts reject -- professional development. They reverse positions on teacher work role changes. As important as the symmetric lines of disagreement are, it is perhaps even more important to realize that the data indicate that equity and choice oriented policy makers will talk past rather than confront directly those with quality or efficiency orientations. Such a

FIGURE 8-4. TAXONOMIC FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATION POLICY

	Effency	Equity	Quality	Choice
1. Finance (QU; not EF)	Offset ---- Not Finan.	Finan. & Equalize ---- Not Fix/ Offset	Finance ---- Not Offset	Offset/ Fix/ Target ---- Not Equal.
2. Personnel (EF and CH)	Accountability ---- Not Cert	Profess'l Developm't ---- Not JobDef	Training & Certifcatn ---- Not Accnt	Job Redefinitn ---- Not Devel
3. Testing (Not EQ)	Placemnt ---- Not Non-Academic	Non-Academic ---- Not Place/ Eval/Mand.	Evaluate ---- Not Format Placemnt	---- Not Evaluate
4. Program Definition (Not CHoice)	Special Groups ---- Not Subjts	Subjects ---- Not SpGrps Time	Subjects ---- Not Stds.	Time & Standards ---- Not Subjts
5. Governance (Not CHoice)	Citzn Infl Dst Role ----	State over Local ---- Not Studnt Adm Ctrl	---- Not Citzns Students	Site/ Stud Rghts Adm Ctrl ---- Not Tchrs
6. Curriculum Materials (CHoice)	Scope & Sequence ---- Not Specl.	Specials/ Mandate Locals ---- Not Scope & Seq.	Specials ---- Not Scope & Seq.	Scope & Sequence ----
7. Building Facilities (EQ; Not EF)	Remediation ---- Not Tech. Rev.	Planning ----	Remediation ---- Not New Capacity	New Capacity ----

lack of direct argument offers marvelous opportunities for compromise and coalition building within the policy system -- it also creates the optimum conditions for misunderstanding and feelings of betrayal.

A quick review of the entries in the other rows of Figure 8-2 will confirm that the lines of disagreement found in the personnel policy domain are not consistent across the other policy arenas. Finance policy approaches do generally follow the personnel pattern -- efficiency preferences support the offsetting burdensome costs approach and lead to a rejection of the financing of particular school functions. A quality preference leads to the reverse -- support for financing particular functions and rejection of the offsetting approach. Equity and choice value preferences also tend to be symmetrical, especially when it comes to the issue of equalization financing and fixing the total amount of education funding at the state level. An equity preference does, however, also lead to support for the financing of particular school functions -- a place where equity and quality oriented policy makers can agree.

In the student testing area symmetrical disagreement is more sharply seen in the differences between efficiency and equity value preferences than between efficiency and quality. Equity values lead to support for non-academic testing, and rejection of using tests to place students. Efficiency value preferences reverse these approach priorities. Quality oriented policy makers emphasize program evaluation uses of student tests

-- a position rejected by both choice and equity oriented value preferences.

In the program definition area, equity and quality value preferences team up in opposition to both efficiency and choice value orientations on the question of whether states should mandate particular school subjects. Equity and efficiency preferences lead to conflict over the virtues of mandating programs for special groups -- surprisingly the equity oriented respondents did not feel that this was a desireable way of fulfilling their values.

In the area of governance, a quality value preference did not lead to the embrace of any particular governance approach, but was associated with a rejection of enhanced citizen influence or an emphasis on students rights and responsibilities. Enhanced teacher authority was rejected by those who embraced a choice value position. As might be expected equity values lead to an embrace of state over local authority.

In the curriculum materials domain efficiency and choice preferences form a common interest in the specification of scope and sequence of local school curricula. Equity and quality oriented policy makers both reject this approach. Quality preferences lead to support for the development of specialized materials, while equity preferences support this approach and state mandates to local districts.

Efficiency and quality value preferences lead to support for a building policy approach involving remediation of architectural problems. The development of new building capacities is positively related to choice, but negatively associated with a quality preference.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the role of public value preferences in shaping state level education policies. Data on value preferences were gathered from 140 policy makers in the six sample states by asking them to complete a semantic differential type questionnaire pairing policy problems in each of three broad domains of school action: educational programs, finance, and school organization or governance. Scales of relative respondent preference for quality, efficiency, equity and choice values was constructed by summing across these three broad domains of action.

Analysis of the value preference data indicated that, for the 1980s, educational quality considerations substantially outweigh all other values. Attention has definitely shifted away from the equity considerations that dominated policy during most of the last quarter of a century. Across the six sample states we found significant differences in value orientation, and tested whether those differences were related to state political cultures, the level of attention to various state policy mechanisms, and/or the amount of attention given to specific approaches within each of the seven basic policy mechanisms.

No relationship between value preferences and political culture was found, but a number of strong relationships between values and the attention given to specific policy mechanisms and alternative approaches were identified and explored. A 4 by 7 matrix presented in Figure 8-4 summarizes the overall relationship between public values and the amount of attention given to various policy approaches.

As will be elaborated in more detail in the concluding chapter of this report, we see this matrix as the basic framework for developing a state education policy taxonomy -- one in which four basic public values intersect with seven core mechanisms of control to create alternative approaches to policy development. The resulting approaches create a complex and fluid basis for conflict and coalition development within the policy making process. To the extent that this matrix of options captures the most important education policy proposals being debated by state policy makers, it deserves a full and rigorous test of as a framework for describing and explaining differences between state policy systems and for analyzing the effects of particular policy actions.

CHAPTER IX

INFLUENCE, POWER AND POLICYMAKING PROCESSES

Although many people participate in the making of education policy, influence over final decisions is far from evenly distributed among them. Moreover, variation in the distribution of influence are affected as more by historical circumstances and the work of particularly effective individual policymakers as by differences in constitutional authority or formal organizations. Since policies emerge through the efforts of various actors to incorporate specific values into authoritative state actions guiding school activities, the dynamics of state education policymaking can be better understood if the unique patterns of power and influence distribution in each state are closely examined.

Influence distribution is complex, of course. Some individuals or groups strongly influence a few decisions. Others have less influence on any particular decision, but are routinely involved across a broad range of issues. Nevertheless, the current distribution of influence in any state policy system is a matter of intense interest to all the participants -- most policymakers are able to comfortably discuss the relative influence of a wide range of other key players. Hence we undertook a straightforward assessment of policy influence in each of our sample states through the simple but effective device of asking each respondent to rate the influence of various key actor groups in his/her state. The seven point scale shown in Appendix 5 was used.

An initial list of policy actors likely to be involved in education policymaking was developed through a review of previous literature (see, e.g., Furhrman and Rosenthal, 1982; Milstein and Jennings, 1976; Iannaccone, 1967; Wirt and Kirst, 1982; Mitchell, 1981). This list was then augmented on the basis of first round interview reports with key actors in each state.

Mean influence ratings reported by the entire sample reveal the underlying pattern of influence common to all six states -- thus providing a national perspective on the question of who makes education policy decisions. After examining the data from this national perspective, the main body of this chapter reports on the unique characteristics of policy influence in each of the six sample states.

Education Policy Influence: The National Perspective

Table 9-1 reports the mean influence rankings for 17 different key actor groups. It shows sharp differences in the reported influence of these groups, confirming the common perception that participants in state policy systems have little difficulty assessing the relative influence of other actors.

Insert Table 9-1 about here.

As suggested in Table 9-1 (and displayed graphically in Figure 9-1), key actor groups with similar mean influence ratings fall into

Table 9-1. Ranking of Policy Influentials in Six States

6-State Rank	Policy Group	Group Mean	St. Dev.
1.	Individual Members of the Legislature	5.85	0.98
2.	The State Legislature as a Whole	5.73	1.03
3.	Chief State School Officer	5.21	1.57
4.	Education Interest Groups Combined	5.14	1.10
5.	Teacher Organizations	5.10	1.54
6.	Governor and Executive Staff	4.88	1.63
7.	Legislative Staff	4.66	1.41
8.	State Board of Education**	4.51	1.60
9.	School Boards Associations	4.18	1.36
10.	Administrator's Association	4.00	1.32
11.	Courts	3.92	1.89
12.	Federal Government	3.89	1.49
13.	Non-Educator Groups	3.87	1.31
14.	Lay Groups	3.10	1.26
15.	Education Researcher Organizations	2.66	1.48
16.	Referenda	2.13	1.64
17.	Producers of Educational Materials	2.11	1.20

**Based on Arizona, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Wisconsin has no State Board of Education.

six meaningful clusters. The members of each cluster have roughly comparable levels of overall involvement in education policy development. Although individual states vary (sometimes quite markedly), this national consensus regarding policy influence was widely recognized by respondents. Where respondents in one state rated the influence of a particular actor group substantially above that shown in the table, interview data provided a ready explanation of the reasons for this deviation.

Insert Figure 9-1 about here.

In all but one case,mean scores for all members of each of the six cluster groups differed significantly from all members of the other five clusters (i.e., yield paired t-test probability values less than .01). Thus, in each case the most influential member of the lower cluster has significantly less influence than the least influential member of the cluster above it. The one exception to this general rule is the separation between the three groups in the cluster we call the "inner circle" (the chief state school officers, teacher organizations, and the coalition of all education interest groups combined) and those in the "outer circle" cluster (the governors and their executive advisors, legislative staffers, and the state boards of education). The lower two groups in the "outer circle" (legislative staff and state boards of education) are ranked significantly lower than all members of the "inner circle," but the mean score for the governor and his advisors is

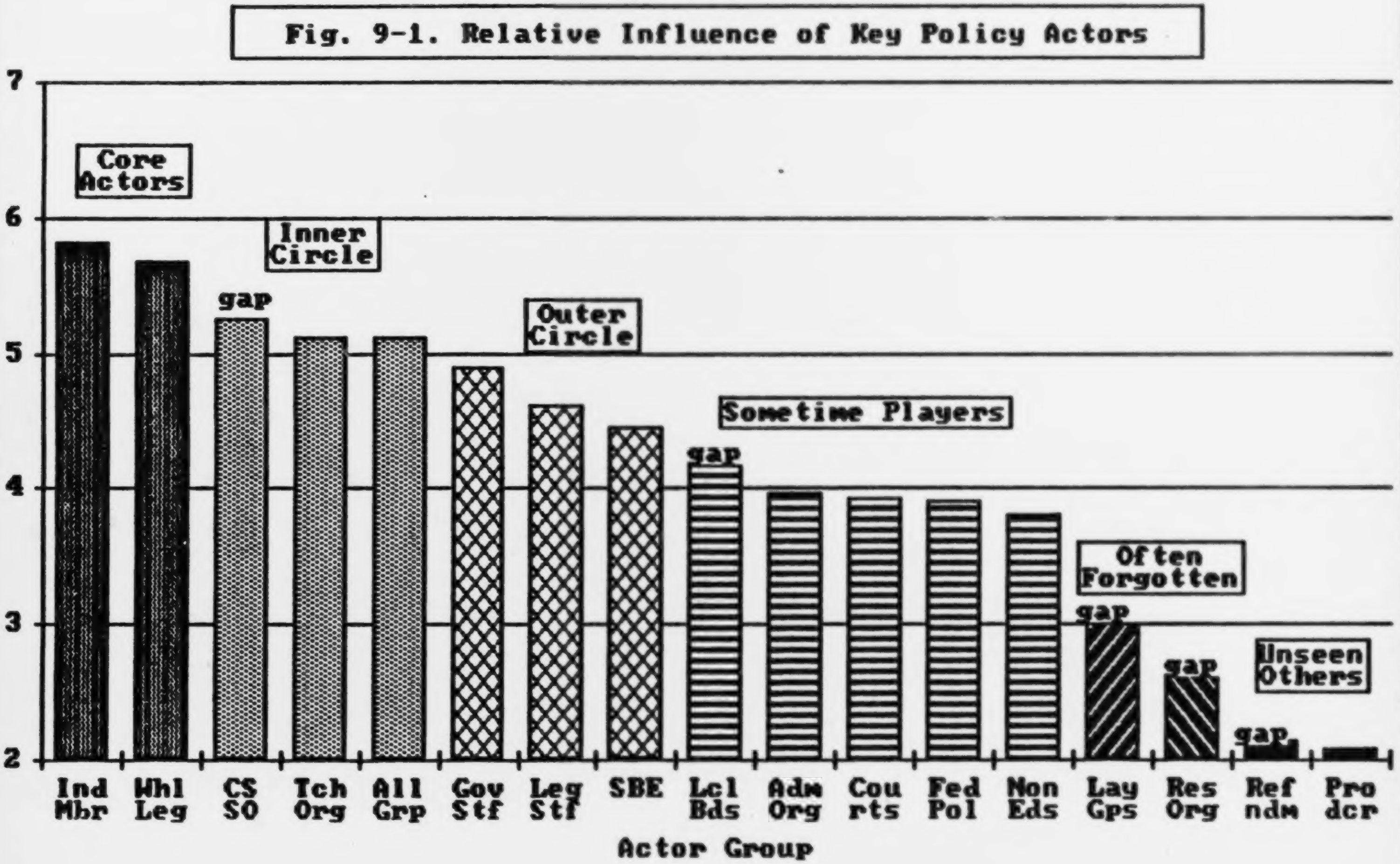


Fig. 9-1. Relative Influence of Key Policy Actors

only significantly lower than that for the CSSOs. Hence it is appropriate to think of the governor and executive staff as a transitional group, closer to the inner circle than the legislative staff and state board, but still not among the most influential participants.

The Core Actors

State legislators, individually and taken as an organizational unit, are the ultimate insiders in education policy. With a mean rank of 5.82 on the seven point scale used to rate all groups, individual members of the legislature were reported to have the strongest voice in policymaking. Just below these prominent individual legislators came the institutional rating for the "legislature as a whole."

The four states that rated individual legislators highest (AZ, PA, WV, WI) confirm the early finding by Wahlke, et al (1962) that legislative policy is disproportionately controlled by "specialists" -- legislators who concentrate on a particular policy area and earn the respect (and thus the voting support) of other legislators. These specialists have the power to affect a broad range of education policy decisions, including budget allocations and school improvement strategies. In interviews, Pennsylvania respondents exemplify this respect for individual legislators by repeatedly reporting that the 20-year veteran chair of the House Education Committee was the single most powerful individual in the policy system -- able to "make or break" nearly any policy proposal in which he took and active interest.

While the legislature as a whole was frequently called a "super school board," respondents obviously recognized that most legislators devote only sporadic attention to education. The legislatures immense obvious power is wielded by a relative handful of its members.

The Inner Circle

Three actor groups constitute a powerful "inner circle." With mean ratings about a half point lower than the legislative actors, these groups generate most of the substantive proposals presented to the legislatures for action.

The chief state school officers (CSSOs) are at the top of this second-echelon group. Though ranked third overall, CSSO ratings varied sharply from one state to another. In Wisconsin and West Virginia, for example, the Chiefs were given very high ratings -- well above the legislators. In Illinois, by contrast, the Chief was ranked 11th, behind federal policy, non-educator interest groups and the courts.

In Pennsylvania, where he was viewed as the governor's education advisor, the CSSO was ranked third, right after the governor. California's CSSO is a constitutional officer, commanding a constituency of his own. Typically, CSSOs exercise control by building an expert staff. Departmental staff are typically full time, long term professionals who develop power based on their experience and expert knowledge. Their influence is less flashy and obvious than that of legislators or governors who must show results to a constituency to get re-elected, but it is often just as effective.

The wide range in the CSSO rankings across the six state sample suggests that there are important differences in the perception of the CSSO. Presumably the CSSO and the SDE staff are the policy group with full-time, legitimate, expert and authoritative responsibility for managing education policy for the state. In most states, however, this group is upstaged by the newly powerful full time legislators who are increasingly supported by their own full time, expert staff advisors.

Teacher organizations and the coalition of "all education interest groups combined" are the second and third members of the inner circle. The political activities of aggressive teacher organizations have clearly succeeded in distinguishing them as the most influential professional interest group. They typically outrank local school boards associations, administrator organizations and lay groups (such as the PTA) by a wide margin. In Illinois and Wisconsin, teachers are viewed as extraordinarily powerful -- outranking the legislature itself in those states. On the other hand, they were noticeably ineffective in Arizona, where they ranked 11th in overall influence -- well behind the local school boards association which is clearly an important player in this state.

Though teachers are uniquely powerful, respondents recognized the independent significance of coalition behavior by key professional interest groups. Where the interest groups are divided it is very difficult to get proposals made by any one of them through the legislature. In five of our six states, the coalition of key interest groups was identified as ranking well above average in influence. Only Arizona, where non-professional groups dominate, was coalition behavior seen to be relatively unimportant (see the discussion of individual state systems, below).

The Outer Circle

The next three groups make up a cluster we have labeled the "outer circle." These three groups -- the governor and his advisors, the legislative staff, and the state boards of education -- have mean scores between 4.0 and 5.0 and are clearly seen as important, if less powerful, participants in the policy process.

The governors, as noted above, were ranked closest to the inner circle, differing significantly only from the CSSOs. This difference is a bit misleading, however. In three of our sample states the governors were actually ranked somewhat above the chiefs (the overall low rank for governors resulted from a decisively lower ranking in the other three states). The governors belong to the outer circle, however, because they typically take a relatively narrow interest in education issues. As Campbell and Mazonni (1976) noted more than a decade ago, governors typically focus their attention almost entirely on issues of school finance (the most prominent, but certainly not the only education policy mechanism). The reform movement of the 1980s has broadened that interest in many executive offices, however. Education agenda setting and program development work are very visible in some governors' offices today. Indeed, the National Governors Association has given education a prominent place in its policy planning activities for 1986.

It is not clear whether the recently expanded activism of governors will last. Historical data suggest that it will not. Since they have responsibility for the full range of public services, governors will probably only give attention to education issues as long as they remain highly salient to major political constituency groups. It is possible, however, that the interest in the governors office will remain focused on education for a long time. Teacher organizations are now, like industrial unions in the 1940s and 50s, important political constituencies whose persistent attention to the governors political leadership can be expected. Moreover, changing worked economics may force the current round of educational reform and improvement to become a sustained national concern -- perhaps as prominent as support for scientific research or transportation services have been for the 40 years since World War II.

Legislative staffers are the middle group in the outer circle. For this group influence is not limited by the scope of their attention -- which covers the full range of education policy concerns. Rather staff influence is limited by the fact that they are formally subordinate to the elected members of the legislature. We were a bit surprised by the extent of the reported difference between the staff and the members, and suspect that the staff influence has been under reported by respondents who honor the formal position of the legislators rather more than is warranted by the facts.

In many cases we observed staffers diplomatically allowing legislators to take the lead and the credit for answers and insights while they, the staffers, formulated the answers and provided the information. Thus, the ranking of the staffers MAY be, at least partially, a tribute to their skill at remaining unobtrusive.

The state boards of education have the lowest ranking of any of the formal state policy groups. Professional interest groups and legislative staffers -- groups without constitutional authority and consisting of individuals hired to inform and influence policymaking -- were reported to have significantly higher power than the typical SBE.

Wisconsin is the only state without an SBE, so we could learn about possible reasons for the low ranking of board influence from observations in that state. Among the remaining five states, two observations seem to account for the relatively meager influence of the SBEs. First, SBEs are more influential in the smaller states with less well supported legislative staffs (AZ and WV). They are weakest in large populous states with strong legislative staffs (CA and IL). Second, except for Arizona, there appears to be a positive correlation between SBE influence and that attributed to the CSSO. This suggests that the influence of these two actor groups may be mutually reinforcing (not a zero-sum distribution of a fixed total amount of influence). It may be, therefore, that if a Chief ignores the board it leads to a reduction in influence for them both. Similarly, SBEs that seek to wrest power from the chief and the department may claim a wholly pyrrhic victory -- succeeding only in reducing the total authority available to them both.

The Sometime Players

Separated from the outer circle by a statistically significant gap in their overall influence are five policy actor groups we have called the "sometime players". These groups were quite effective on some issues and in some states, but were noticeably weak in others.

State associations of local school boards were the most frequently noticed members of this cluster. They ranked ninth in overall influence -- putting them in the middle of the 17 groups ranked. Arizona and Wisconsin school boards association ranked significantly higher than the six-state average; the West Virginian Association was viewed as significantly weaker (see state by state discussion below).

Administrator organizations were ranked next with an overall mean rating of 3.97. Administrators were notably strong in California and Pennsylvania, but even at their strongest, the administrators were viewed as less powerful than teacher groups.

The courts and federal policy ranked eleventh and twelfth, respectively. The position of the courts was particularly varied. West Virginia and California, having been recently mandated by the judiciary to revise school policy in the interests of equal opportunity reported particularly powerful court influence. West

Virginia ranked the courts as the single most powerful agency -- above the legislature and the CSSO.

Pennsylvania subjects frequently commented that the courts had been a major influence in the past, but were no longer. One explained, "We haven't had a court decision affecting us in a while." [PA,2,7]. But policymakers' choices, particularly in school finance policy, were made with clear knowledge of previous court decisions. Court decisions influenced and constrained policy choices but policy actors did not recognize the influence when it was subtle.

An anti-court view that "we take care of ourselves" was graphically articulated in the 1985 State of the State address by Governor Arch Moore of West Virginia. His words on education dramatically stated that West Virginians know how to manage their schools without the unwelcome interference of the court. These words were met with the strongest applause of the evening.

The range of scores for federal policy was somewhat narrower, but Wisconsin respondents rated it especially low; Arizona and West Virginia especially high. Part of this variation is ideological -- conservative and individualistic feelings in the latter two states raise sensitivity to federal incursions into education, while moralistic support for an activist central government in Wisconsin causes these policymakers to view similar federal action as less intrusive.

Speaking of federal influence, a Pennsylvania staffer said: "Federal is ranked pretty low now. I give it a high ranking when talking about special education, but generally it's a lower rating." [PA,2,7].

Finally, non-educator interest groups (taxpayer associations, business round tables, etc.) round out the sometime players cluster. Arizona respondents give these groups especially high marks. Interviews confirmed that a taxpayer group (the Arizona Tax Research Association) and a civic elite group known as the "Phoenix 40" were responsible for these high ratings. Both groups have introduced and actively supported education policy proposals.

The Often Forgotten

Two groups we came to call the "often forgotten", because they occasionally have quite dramatic impacts on particular issues, but are rarely mentioned as active participants in the policymaking process.

Lay groups associated with the schools (PTAs, advisory councils, etc.) are clearly the neglected step-children among those whose interests are initially affected by state policy. In no state were these groups reported to be as influential as non-educator groups (though they were seen as stronger than the administrator associations in Arizona, and stronger than the state board in California.

Statistically weaker even than the lay interest groups are research organizations (universities, regional laboratories, etc.). In West Virginia, however, researchers were reported to be notably influential -- outranking lay interest groups and even the local school boards association.

One policymaker in that state recalled the old days of making projections of impact of school finance proposals by hand and education reports and recommendations with no supporting data. He commented on the impact of surveys and computer statistical analysis printouts as having marked "our turning from being natural philosophers to scientists" [W VA,1,2]. A Pennsylvania respondent said that computer printouts had wrought tremendous change in education policymaking. The facility to have immediate projections of school district/legislative district impact on every education policy proposal led to "policymaking by printout" [PA,2,26].

The Unseen Others

The last two influence sources (popular referenda and lobbying by procedures of education products) we called the "unseen others" because their influence was rarely reported to be of any significance. California respondents, reflecting the unique history of this state reported referenda to be moderately important, outranking lay groups and the SBE. Producer groups were most frequently recognized as important in Arizona.

In sum, from a national perspective education policy influence is concentrated in the hands of state legislators and an inner circle made up of the chief, teacher organizations and the coalition of education interest groups working together. An outer circle, noticeably less powerful, but typically consulted consists of governors, legislative staff and state boards of education. Sometimes players in the policy formation process include local boards associations, administrator groups, the courts, federal policy mandates and a variety of non-educator political interest groups. Lay groups and researchers are often forgotten, but are occasionally quite important. Unseen and rarely recognized as important are popular referenda and producers of education products.

We turn now to a brief look at the influence patterns in each state in order to highlight the unique character of each state and note ways in which state patterns deviate from the national perspective just described.

Influence in the States

ARIZONA: A weak inner circle, strong lay influence.

The mean scores for key actor group in Arizona are presented graphically in Figure 9-2 with a profile for all states shown as a line on the graph (the numerical data is in Table 9-2). Two generalizations about the Arizona policy system are suggested by this figure. First, Arizona has a relatively weak "inner circle." Arizona legislature is even more powerful than its counterparts in other states, while the teacher organizations, special interest coalition and governor's staff are less influential than those in other states.

Insert Figure 9-2 about here.

Insert Table 9-2 about here.

Fig. 9-2. Arizona Key Actor Influence Pattern

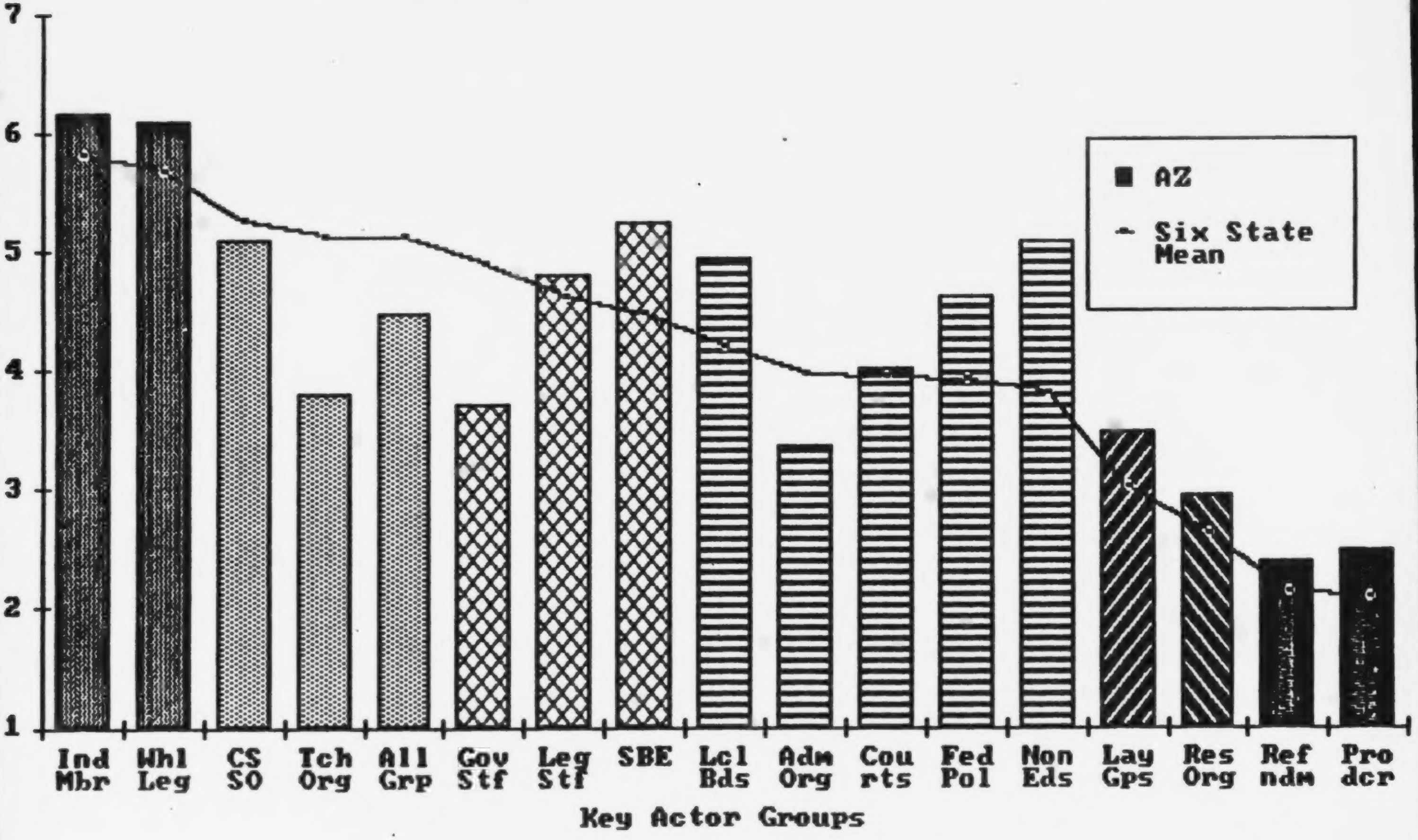


Table 9-2. Ranking of Arizona Policy Influentials

AZ Rank	Influence Group	AZ Mean*	Std. Dev.	6-State Rank**
1.	Individual Members of the Legislature	6.17	(0.70)	1+
2.	The Legislature as a Whole	6.10	(1.01)	2+
3.	State Board of Education	5.23	(1.66)	8++
4.	Chief State School Office	5.10	(1.24)	3
5.	Non-Educator Interest Groups	5.07	(0.87)	13++
6.	Association of Local School Board	4.93	(0.98)	9++
7.	Legislative Staff	4.80	(1.27)	7
8.	Federal Policy Mandates	4.60	(1.38)	12+
9.	All Education Interest Groups Combined	4.48	(1.09)	4-
10.	The Courts (state or federal)	4.00	(1.60)	11
11.	Teacher Organization(s)	3.80	(1.38)	5--
12.	The Governor and Executive Staff	3.70	(1.54)	6--
13.	Lay Groups (PTA, etc.)	3.47	(1.14)	14+
14.	State Administrator Organization(s)	3.37	(1.16)	10-
15.	Education Research Organizations	2.93	(1.23)	15
16.	Producers of Education Materials	2.48	(1.18)	17+
17.	Referenda	2.38	(1.80)	16

** ++ Ranked much higher in AZ than other states.
+ Ranked higher in AZ than other states.
- Ranked lower in AZ than other states.
-- Ranked much lower in AZ than other states.

The second characteristic seen in Figure 9-2 is the dominance of lay are professional interests. In addition to the legislature, unusually prominent actors in Arizona include the state board of education, a strong local school boards association, particularly effective non-educator interest groups, stronger than average lay organizations, and even some effective educational producer groups. Along with the teachers, school administrators are noticeably weak in Arizona.

The priorities associated with this lay emphasis can be seen by examining the program of Arizona's powerful SBE.

In most states this group ranks eighth. Our interviews provided ample reason for the high ranking of the State Board, however. The board has a broad mandate from the legislature to develop programs and regulations to support statutory policies. They have actively pursued curriculum policy improvements by specifying a series of basic skills competency targets for use by local schools, targeting computation, communication, and citizenship competencies (affectionately known as the "3 Cs" by State Department of Education staff). It was expected that these competencies would also be used by teacher training institutions in the preparation of new teachers.

The State Board also adopted expansive school personnel policies. From the standpoint of intensity of effort, the showpiece of the board's personnel interest was a pilot program for extended supervision and assessment of teachers. Another board personnel policy -- flashier in its press coverage, but probably less intense in its impact -- was a program developed by Northern Arizona University. This program, commits NAU to create a series of six or seven "Centers for Excellence" across the state for both preservice and inservice training of teachers and administrators.

A third key program in the State Board's aggressive pursuit of personnel training reform is the "Arizona Principals' Academy." Its declared objective, according to the Board, was to "provide administrators with the tools to make school improvement a reality." One symbolically important clause in the authorizing legislation for the Arizona Principal's Academy (SB 1226, 1984) was its insistence that "no faculty member of any public university in the state" be employed to staff the academy. As described more fully below, this overt questioning of the competency of public university faculty to provide needed training and leadership in education is an important factor in the mood and tenor of Arizona policy development.

The special place of the State Board of Education in Arizona can be traced to the work of a relatively small group of key board members. The board has succeeded in bringing into coalition business and industrial interests with key school administrators in the state.

Virtually identical in rank with the board is the vigorous and generally quite effective Superintendent of Public Instruction. While the superintendent's rank of 5.30 did not differ significantly from that given to other CSSOs in our study, the current superintendent has identified herself with a number of reforms, and has provided organizational skill, energy, and ideas to support the state board's activist approach to policy.

Our interview data identified two unusually effective non-educator groups the prestigious "Phoenix 40" group (a group of business leaders that met about once a month on an informal basis), and the technically competent but less obviously powerful Arizona Tax Research Association. On an individual basis we were able to identify several other active and influential community and business leaders as well, but we were not able to trace their influence on specific issues.

CALIFORNIA: Strong legislative staff, educator interest groups and referenda.

California's policy influence patterns is shown in Figure 9-3. Six groups were seen as especially powerful in this state while only one (the SBE was seen as notably weak). Among the unusually influential groups, the prominence of the legislative staff, the coalition of all education interest groups, and the overall effectiveness of the legislature are noteworthy.

Insert Figure 9-3 about here.

Insert Table 9-3 about here.

As in other states, the California legislature was the prime mover in education policy matters, and major education programs

Fig. 9-3. California Key Actor Influence Pattern

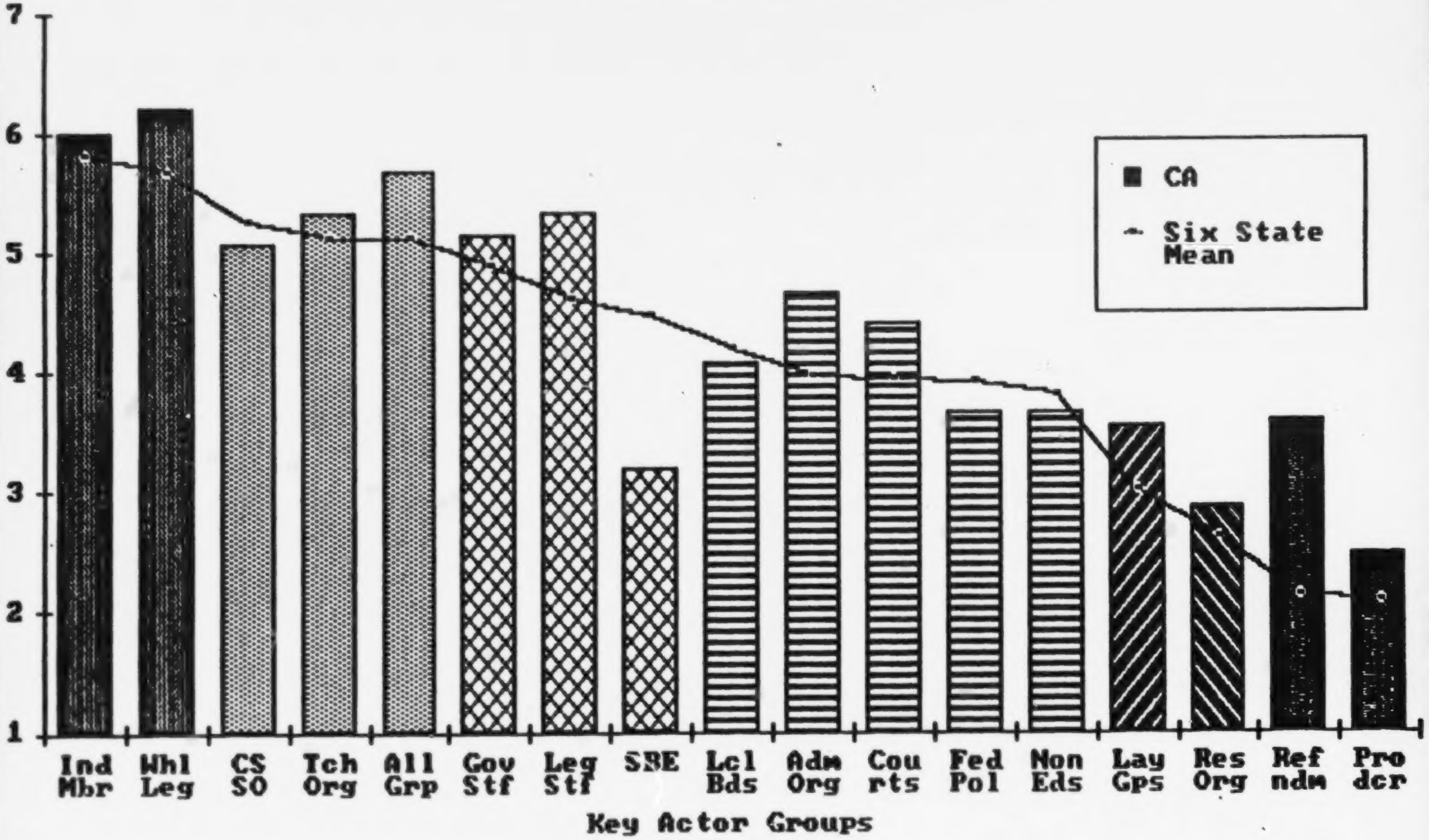


Table 9-3. Ranking of California Policy Influentials

CA Rank		CA Mean*	Std. Dev.	6-State Rank**
1.	The Legislature as a Whole	6.21	(0.89)	2+
2.	Individual Members of Legislature	6.00	(0.93)	1
3.	All Education Interest Groups Combined	5.67	(0.98)	4+
4.	Teacher Organization(s)	5.33	(1.11)	5
5.	Legislative Staff	5.33	(1.40)	7+
6.	The Governor and Executive Staff	5.13	(1.25)	6
7.	Chief State School Officer	5.07	(1.34)	3
8.	State Administrator Organization(s)	4.67	(1.45)	10+
9.	The Courts (state or federal)	4.40	(1.77)	11+
10.	Association of Local School Boards	4.07	(1.10)	9
11.	Non-Educator Interest Groups	3.67	(1.11)	13
12.	Federal Policy Mandates	3.67	(1.11)	12
13.	Direct Referenda	3.60	(2.23)	16+
14.	Lay Groups (PTA, etc.)	3.53	(0.92)	14+
15.	State Board of Education	3.20	(1.32)	8--
16.	Education Research Organizations	2.87	(1.36)	15
17.	Producers of Education Materials	2.47	(1.19)	17

** ++ Ranked much higher in CA than other states.
+ Ranked higher in CA than other states.
- Ranked lower in CA than other states.
-- Ranked much lower in CA than other states.

were frequently known by the name of the legislator who introduced them -- the Ryan Act for teacher certification, the Rodda Act for labor relations, the Green Act on building design and financing, the comprehensive Hughes-Hart Reform Act of 1983, etc. The legislature did not work in a vacuum, however. Members were surrounded by some of the most sophisticated, energetic, and well-financed lobbyists to be found in any state. And members had to respond to initiatives and policy positions taken by a powerful governor and a very effective superintendent of public instruction.

The high level of influence exercised by education interest groups is revealed in significantly above average scores for administrators and lay groups (as well as a slightly above average score for teacher organizations and textbook publishers). Local boards and non-educator groups were rated slightly (but not significantly) below average.

In sum, the policy environment in California is reflected in the generally high influence scores for all influence groups. As shown in Table 9-1, influence ratings for all of the 17 groups rated by our respondents were, on the average, a full one-half point higher (on a 1 to 7 scale) than the scores provided by respondents in the other five sample states. California respondents, in effect, believed that all policy actors are more influential.

If we view policy influence as a "zero-sum" game in which increased influence by one actor is only achieved by reducing the influence of some other actor(s), the elevated mean influence ratings for California would be anomalous -- to be explained by reference to the predilection of individuals in this state to give high estimates. The interview data suggest otherwise, however. In California the tendency of all key policy groups to be strong and active has led to policy proposals being more plentiful, heavily contested, and comprehensive than those found in most other states. Only in this state did we find 500 to 700 bills on education policy topics being introduced in every legislative session. And California's omnibus reform bills were typically longer and more complex than those in other states. At 290 pages, SB 813 (1983) clearly set the record for length in education policy legislation.

ILLINOIS: Strong teachers, weak CSSO and SBE.

The Illinois Constitution was totally rewritten in 1970, including an appointed, rather than an elected, State Superintendent, plus a School Problems Commission for long-range planning in education. So the state is in a learning period of planning for state-wide education.

Chicago school policy is always a crisis situation, hence always considered as a separate entity with problems and situations different from rest of the state. Of late, however, across the state the funding problem has become a crisis. Sometimes courts force a crisis upon them, e.g., education for the handicapped. There seemed to be no structured ways of dealing with such crises. Different agencies, lobbies, or even individual legislators take leadership in moving different issues to the state agenda.

Consequently, the Illinois system reflected a basically ad hoc issue emergence system. An example of a considered approach was the farm land assessment changes. Assessment had been on real estate acreage, which made farm taxes high when realty continued to appreciate. With re-evaluation, this land was taxed at a lower rate. The current depression depreciated land and local school funding was hit hard.

As seen in Figure 9-4, the most striking feature of the distribution of influence in Illinois is the extraordinary effectiveness of the teacher organizations.

Insert Figure 9-4 about here.

Insert Table 9-4 about here.

The teachers lobby, because of this knowledge and numbers throughout the state had significantly higher influence than any other policy group. They had great concern for salaries, of course. In 1984, they successfully promoted a state collective bargaining law which then stimulated the largest wave of teacher strikes in Illinois history.

Also striking in Illinois was the low ranking of the CSSO and his SDE staff, finding which presaged his resignation and another appointment in the period of this study.

Fig. 9-4. Illinois Key Actor Influence Pattern

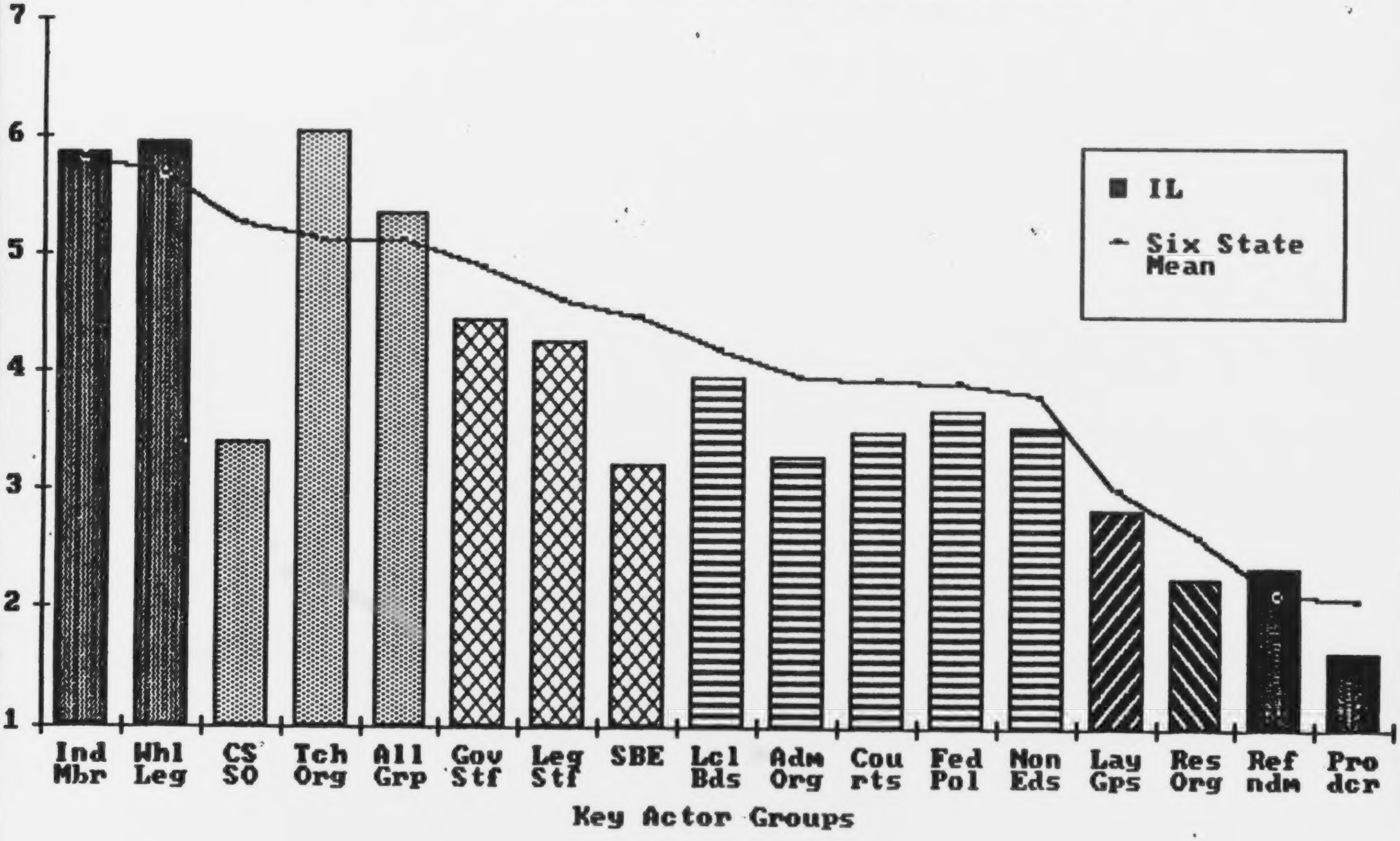


Table 9-4. Ranking of Illinois Policy Influentials

IL Rank	Influence Group	IL Mean	Std. Dev.	6-State Rank**
1.	Teachers Association	6.05	(0.97)	5++
2.	Legislature	5.95	(0.88)	2
3.	Individual Legislators	5.86	(1.08)	1
4.	Educ. Interest Groups Combined	5.35	(0.93)	4
5.	Governor and Executive Staff	4.45	(1.77)	6
6.	Legislative Staff	4.27	(0.93)	7
7.	Others	4.00	(1.41)	18++
8.	School Boards Association	3.95	(1.12)	9
9.	Federal Policy	3.68	(1.25)	12
10.	Non-Educators Interest Groups	3.55	(0.96)	13
11.	The Courts	3.50	(1.34)	11
12.	Chief State School Officer	3.29	(1.33)	3--
13.	Administrators Association	3.29	(1.15)	10-
14.	State Board of Education	3.23	(1.11)	8--
15.	Lay Groups	1.86	(1.01)	14
16.	Referenda	2.36	(1.43)	16
17.	Research Organizations	2.27	(1.24)	15
18.	Producers of Education Products		(1.64)	17-

** ++ Ranked much higher in IL than other states.
 + Ranked higher in IL than other states.
 - Ranked lower in IL than other states.
 -- Ranked much lower in IL than other states.

The CSSO's significantly lower ranking in Illinois can be put in context. The State Superintendent's role in education policy has been transformed, but still seems to have only a limited initiative in the policy system. Under the new Constitution, his role changed from its traditional, elective nature (which meant exercising limited policy leadership) to one appointed by the State Board. Efforts by three of these officers since this change demonstrate it is not useful for leadership in the education policy system; a fourth, appointed in 1985, was too recent for evaluation. The first did little, but the second tried to do much (desegregation, consolidation). He got the Legislature and local school boards so unhappy with these efforts that legislators actually threatened to change the Constitution and make the office elective once again (he left shortly thereafter with little substantive progress to report).

Also below average is the influence exercised by the Illinois SBE and its school administrator organization. These low rankings confirm the impressions generated by our interviews that the nexus of Illinois policy formation is the interaction between its powerful teacher organizations and the particularly rancorous debate and programmatic politics of its legislature which is perpetually divided between Chicago and down state interests -- overlaid by overt partisan political contests for control.

PENNSYLVANIA: A strong outer circle.

As indicated in Figure 9-5, Pennsylvania comes the closest of the six sample states to reflecting the national average influence scores for all key actor groups. They are some noticeable differences, however. Two members of the outer circle (the governor and the legislative staff) are particularly powerful and the school administrators organization is strong enough to effectively balance teacher influence. At the same time, non-educator groups and popular referenda are significantly less important sources of influence.

Insert Figure 9-5 about here.

Insert Table 9-5 about here.

The governor's visibility followed publication of his Turning the Tide school reform initiative. He also benefited from conflict surrounding the appointment of his first superintendent of schools (whom he latter replaced), making the role of the CSSO as a representative of the governor's policy agenda painfully obvious to everyone.

Pennsylvania's legislative staffers were ranked just below the legislature as a whole. These staffers are plentiful, expert, full-time professionals who are clearly rely on broad data sets and factual analyses to help frame issues and plan strategy for education policy. They meet with lobbyists and act as middlemen, conveying the sense of how legislators will respond to proposals

Fig. 9-5. Pennsylvania Key Actor Influence Pattern

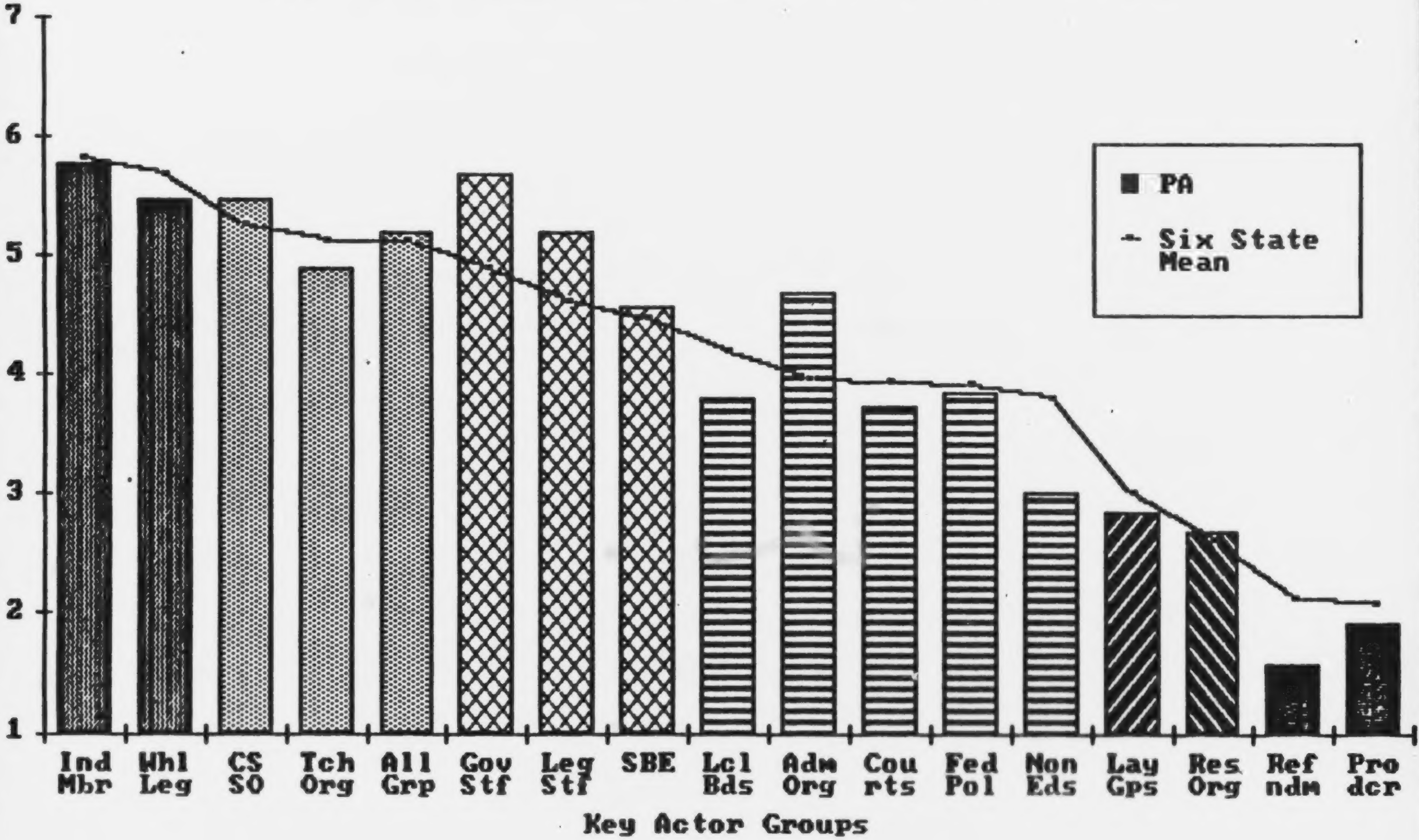


Table 9-5. Rankings of Pennsylvania's Policy Influentials

PA Rank	Influence Groups	PA Mean	Std. Dev	6-State Rank**
1.	Individual Legislators	5.76	(0.88)	1
2.	Governor and Executive Staff*	5.68	(1.55)	6++
3.	Chief State School Officer	5.48	(1.58)	3
4.	The Legislature as a Whole	5.46	(0.98)	2
5.	Legislative Staff	5.20	(1.12)	7++
6.	Education Interest Groups Combined	5.18	(1.10)	4
7.	Teachers' Associations	4.88	(1.36)	5
8.	Administrators' Association	4.68	(1.18)	10+
9.	State Board of Education	4.56	(1.64)	8
10.	Federal Policy Mandates	3.84	(1.52)	12
11.	School Boards Association	3.80	(1.84)	9
12.	Courts	3.72	(1.83)	9
13.	Non-Educator Groups	3.00	(1.12)	13-
14.	Lay Groups	2.84	(1.68)	14
15.	Researchers	2.68	(1.44)	15
16.	Producers of Education Materials	1.92	(1.04)	17
17.	Referenda	1.56	(1.27)	16-

** ++ Ranked much higher in PA than other states.
+ Ranked higher in PA than other states.
- Ranked lower in PA than other states.
-- Ranked much lower in PA than other states.

and, at the same time, glean information about the concerns and potential actions of interest groups.

Interview data indicated the high inability of the school administrators group was due primarily to their success in promoting a form of collective bargaining for principals. State policymakers generally are impressed with well organized special interest groups who propose and directly pursue policies or programs designed to support their own members. They are doubly impressed if these programs involve legislating a shift of formal authority or significant resources into the interest group's hands.

WEST VIRGINIA: Judicial lightening bolts and a strong state agency.

As shown in Figure 9-6, most obvious difference between West Virginia's influence profile and that of the other states was the stunning prominence of the courts.

Insert Figure 9-6 about here.

Insert Table 9-6 about here.

The courts became involved in poicymaking when the 1979 case of Pauley vs. Bailey was remanded to Circuit Court Judge Arthur Recht, who issued a decision unprecedented in its detailing of an equitable reform of the state school system. Judge Recht decided,

Fig. 9-6. West Virginia Key Actor Influence Pattern

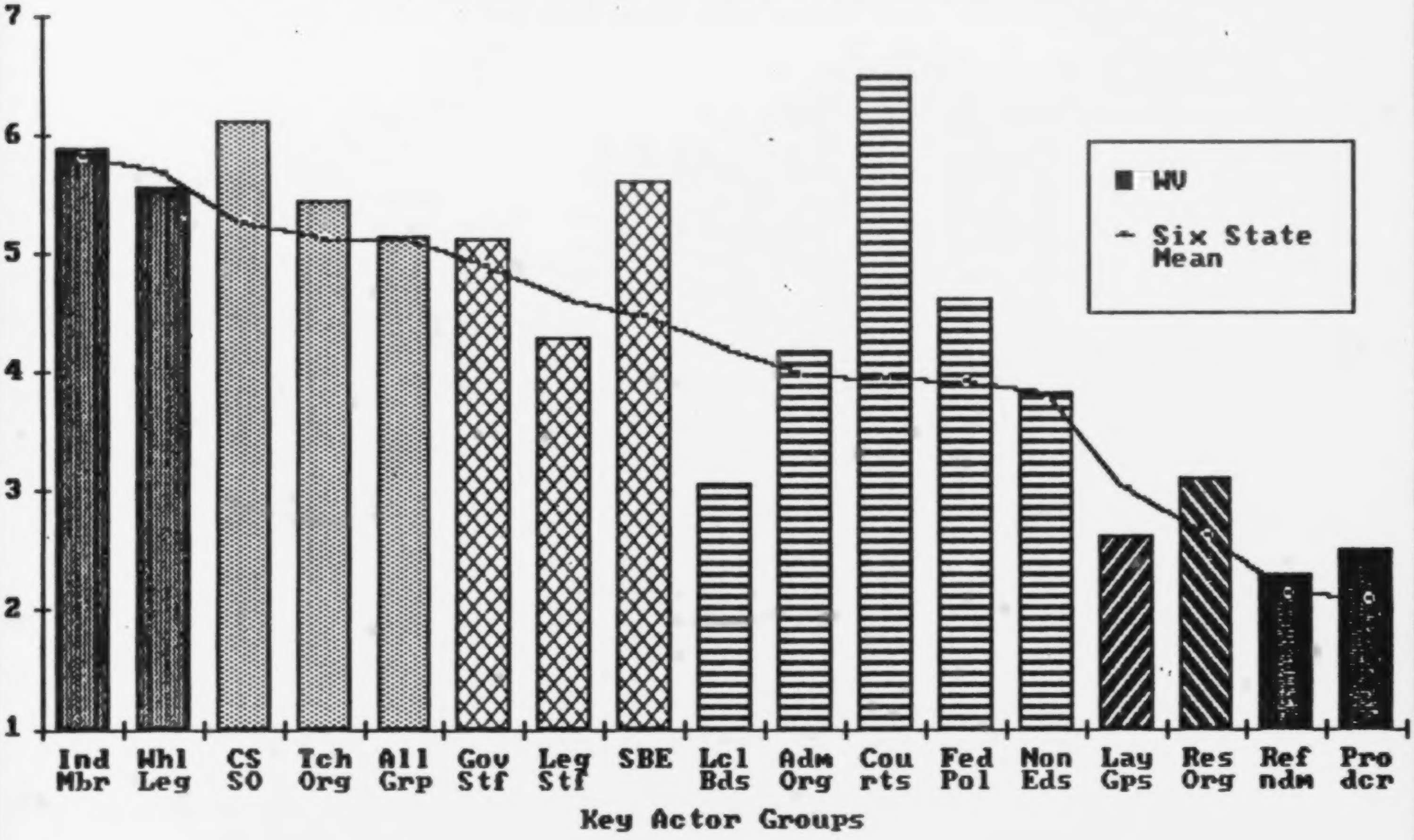


Table 9-6. Ranking of West Virginia Policy Influentials

W VA Rank	Influence Group	W VA Mean*	Std. Dev.	6-State Rank
1.	Courts	6.50	(0.79)	11++
2.	Chief State School Officer	6.11	(0.83)	3++
3.	Individual Legislators	5.88	(0.93)	1
4.	State Board of Education	5.61	(1.29)	8++
5.	The Legislature as a Whole	5.56	(1.03)	2
6.	Teachers' Organizations	5.44	(0.78)	5
7.	Education Interest Groups Combined	5.13	(0.99)	4
8.	Governor and Executive Staff	5.11	(1.64)	6
9.	Federal Policy	4.61	(1.24)	12++
10.	Legislative Staff	4.28	(1.84)	7
11.	Administrators' Association	4.17	(1.34)	10
12.	Non-Educator Groups	3.83	(1.20)	13
13.	Researchers	3.11	(1.08)	15
14.	School Boards Association	3.06	(0.99)	9--
15.	Lay Groups	2.61	(1.15)	14
16.	Producers of Educational Materials	2.50	(1.47)	17
17.	Referenda	2.28	(1.41)	16

*Under the catch-all phrase "Any Other Groups", many respondents put the West Virginia School Service Personnel Association; this group rated higher than any group in the "Other" category in all of the states.

** ++ Ranked much higher in W VA than other states.
+ Ranked higher in W VA than other states.
- Ranked lower in W VA than other states.
-- Ranked much lower in W VA than other states.

after years of litigation, that the state legislature's responsibility to provide the "thorough and efficient" education system demanded by the Constitution required reformation of the tax structure and a plan to ensure uniformity in the program, facilities, and resources for the education of every child. Recht himself offered an explanation for this:

> Trial courts react. We rarely act. And the only time a trial court is required to act is when there is legislative and executive inertia. When those two branches of government do nothing, nature abhors a vacuum and the judicial branch of government then has to step in and take some action. (Interview, State Ed, 1984, 1).

Although the basis of the Recht decision was the thorough and efficient clause, the interpretation was that the inequity, the uneven standards of program quality constituted an inefficient and non-thorough system that had to be corrected. The logic of the decision was that education is a fundamental right according to the state constitution so that any student who did not have equal opportunity to a minimum standard of educational program was being denied an equal and fundamental right. The decision actually defined minimum standards and asserted that the state government was remiss in not providing an efficient system for generating and allocating the funding to provide for a quality educational system to each student, no matter which county the student resides in.

Policy actors were keenly aware that this court decision has altered basic assumptions in West Virginia, as illustrated here:

The Supreme Court has made two fundamental changes. It said that property tax must be assessed at its true and actual value, because property is a major constituent of financing schools and is the only base that they have. And also in Pauley vs. whoever.... its said that the quality of schools must be changed.... So we are going to see property carrying more of a load in financing schools.

The state superintendent, ranking second only to the courts in West Virginia, was significantly higher in ranking than all the other sample states except Wisconsin. The CSSO was initially a political appointee with a nobly apolitical mission but, around the 1920s and 1930s, his efforts became partisan. So, by constitutional amendment in 1958, control over his appointment was shifted to the SBE, in an effort to insulate from political pressures (Pearson and Fuller, 1969). The resignation of Dr. Roy Truby in 1985, however, revealed that this move was not entirely successful. It was his support for the opponent of newly-elected Governor Arch Moore that ended his effectiveness in office.

The CSSO is the final arbiter in grievances in any education system in the state. The West Virginia Constitution gives education special status. In fact, in 1982, when the governor cut the education budget (but not transportation budget), the CSSO brought suit against the governor and won. The Constitutionally-protected independence of the CSSO is demonstrated here.

Local school boards were notably weaker than average in West Virginia. This weakness was the result of frequent tensions between the school boards association and the state superintendents organization.

These tensions recur when superintendents are expected to take a side in political campaigns for school board elections; sometimes their side does not win and, "you see huge numbers of superintendents losing their jobs within six months." [W VA,2,8]. The state association of school boards was lower in West Virginia than in any of the sample state (but not significantly so). The local boards are county elected officials, responsible to local citizens' needs and have some difficulty accepting state influence at a time when state level involvement in the schools is a fact of life.

WISCONSIN: An inner circle that dominates the legislature.

As indicated in Figure 9-7, Wisconsin was unique among our sample states in the weakness of its legislative actors. The CSSO, the governor and the teacher organizations were all more powerful than any legislative actors. Even the association of local school boards was seen as having influence comparable to the legislature.

Insert Figure 9-7 about here.

Insert Table 9-7 about here.

Fig. 9-7. Wisconsin Key Actor Influence Pattern

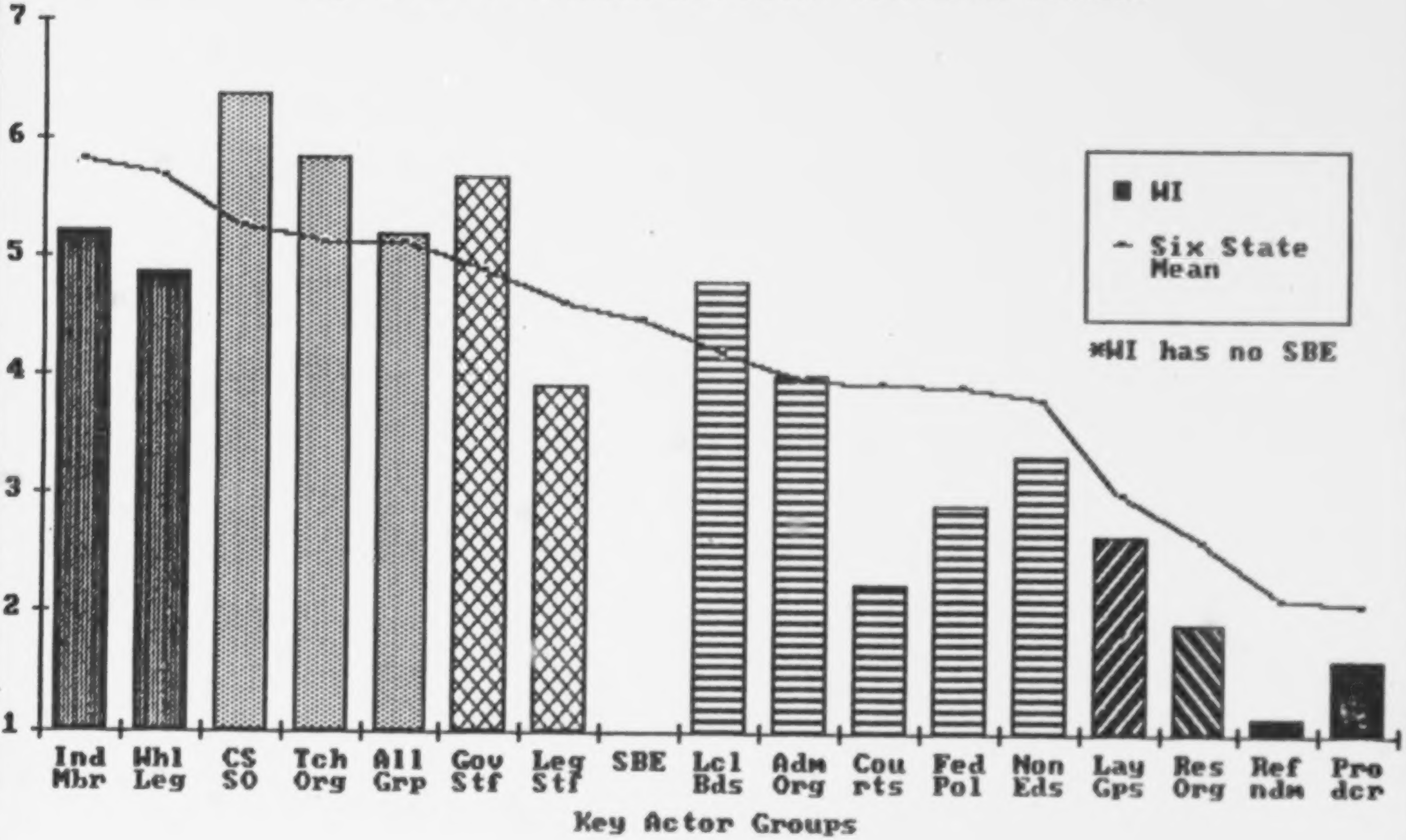


Table 5: Rankings of Wisconsin Policy Influentials

WI Rank	Influence Groups	WI MEAN	Std. Dev.	6-State Rank**
1.	Chief State School Officer	6.38	(0.92)	3++
2.	Teacher Organization	5.69	(1.44)	5++
3.	Governor and Executive Staff	5.50	(1.31)	6+
4.	Education Interest Groups Combined	5.25	(1.06)	4
5.	Individual Members of the Legislature	5.06	(1.17)	1--
6.	The Legislature as a Whole	4.63	(1.06)	2
7.	School Boards Associations	4.63	(1.22)	9+
8.	Legislative Staff	3.75	(1.35)	7-
9.	Administrators' Association	3.75	(1.35)	10
10.	Non-Educator Groups	3.56	(1.34)	13
11.	Lay Groups	2.69	(0.96)	14
12.	Federal Government	2.63	(1.61)	12
13.	Courts	2.31	(1.26)	11
14.	Researchers	2.06	(1.06)	15
15.	Producers of Educational Materials	1.81	(1.10)	17-
16.	Referenda	1.13	(0.34)	16-
17. *				

*Wisconsin has no State Board of Education.

** ++ Ranked much higher in WI than other states.
 + Ranker higher in WI than other states.
 - Ranked lower in WI than in other states.
 -- Ranked much lower in WI than other states.

Interviews and observation data indicate that the unique distribution of influence in Wisconsin is the result of its strongly moralistic culture and powerful Democratic party. By defining politics as a commonweal activity aimed at identifying and pursuing broad community values, the moralistic culture supports executive leadership for education and diminishes the normally important conflict management of the legislature (see chapter VI for a fuller discussion of political cultures). Because the Democratic party has a very large margin of both popular support and control of governmental offices, there are few opportunities for other party interests to pose a serious challenge to the governor's leadership. And finally, since the governor appoints the CSSO and he has no SBE to provide alternative policy initiatives, it is easy for the executive branch to develop a close working relationship and to present a single program to the legislature for action.

The moralistic culture in Wisconsin also supports expanded influence for teachers and local school boards (without diminishing the role of administrators). With policymaking defined as a search for the public interest, it is easy for strong executive agencies to rely on advice from local school people.

The populism of the Democratic party also reinforces a diminished role for non-citizen influences. The courts, federal policy mandates and research organizations were all given significantly lower ratings in Wisconsin than in the other states. And the special interest of textbook publishers and producers of other educational materials, low in all the states, were reported to be virtually without influence in Wisconsin. And because this culture is so homogeneous and rely so easily on executive leadership, referenda influence in Wisconsin has also disappeared from view.

Summary

From a national perspective, legislatures are the most prominent actors in state level education policy formation. The legislative arena is where policy issues are framed. Education specialists among the legislature and key staff members have the lion's share of the influence over what issues will be addressed and how they will be framed.

An inner circle of key actors -- typically consisting of the CSSO, the teacher organizations and a coalition of all education groups working together -- provide the specifics of the policy debates. They propose policy changes, generate data for use in the legislative debates, and lobby directly to persuade the legislature to act. Occasionally the governor enters this inner circle by making education a major part of his policy agenda.

The SEBs are typically members of a less prominent outer circle, often ranking with sometime players (such as local school boards, administrator groups, the courts, federal policy mandates and non-educator special interest groups.

While the six states sample provides an overall picture of power and influence, each state has its own individual picture. History, current crises, recent power shifts and pervasive informal rules for action maintain policy groups power in each state.

Rosenthal (1981) noted that "the legislative process cannot be considered isolation from the prevailing ethos, the political ethics, and the capital community in which it operates," (p 111). He examined aspects of the culture -- the work flow, the hangouts of legislators and lobbyists, the norms of legislators. This chapter has shown that the different state authorities have individual processes and power rankings. The next chapter will examine the pervasive cultural norms of education policymakers.

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CHAPTER X

ASSUMPTIVE WORLDS OF EDUCATION POLICYMAKERS

The Concept of the Assumptive Worlds

Each state policymaking setting has its own distinctive culture. Policymakers are socialized in these cultures and share understandings about what is right and proper. These understandings specify expected policymaking behaviors and rituals, and provide a basis for judging feasible policy options. The resulting perceptual screen we term the "assumptive world" of the policymaker in each state. Young (1977) described these "assumptive worlds" as "policymakers' subjective understandings of the environment in which they operate" (p. 2), incorporating "several intermingled elements of belief, perception, evaluation, and intention as responses to the reality `out there'" (p. 3). This chapter identifies, describes, and analyzes the utility of the assumptive world concept of explaining how public values are translated into concrete policy decisions.

Discovering the assumptive worlds of the policymakers in each state began with the realization that the most influential policy actors shared a common understanding of their state's decisionmaking process. They were particularly attuned to the meaning and significance of key words or phrases and told common stories about the successes and failures of various actions taken by those who tried to shape important decisions.

Careful analysis of interview data enabled us to make a connection between the perceived distribution of influence in each state, individual policy actors' sense of what works, and the words they used about activities within their states' policy cultures.

We found definite rules for the exercise of influence -- rules that define the rights and responsibilities of various policy groups. Various key actors' stories revealed how specific activities allowed particular groups to gain (or lose) power. They also revealed the existence of state-specific understandings about the cultural constraints on policy behavior and choice.

We found, in short, each state system had a distinctive set of assumptive worlds, and that actors shared more or less common language about the processes, constraints, and rituals that must be observed in policymaking. This common language reflected a taken-for-granted framework within which policymaking occurs. Analysis of the language shows how the assumptive worlds interact with particular policy initiatives to control decision outcomes.

Theoretical and Methodological Developments in the Study of Policy Cultures

This section briefly outlines the theory and methodological traditions that guided our study of policymakers' assumptive worlds.

Theory Building

Schutz's (1962, p. 53) essays on research and social reality underscore the importance of developing an "explanation of how mutual understandings of human beings might occur." Social reality contains elements of beliefs and convictions that are common, that are the basic underpinning of all social interaction and action. These are seen in common mediums of cogitations, reciprocity of perspective, reciprocity of motive, common communicative environments, and social traffic with consociates in a community of space.

This focus on the origin of mutual understanding contrasts sharply with most studies in the politics of education. Mainstream politics research emphasizes linking decision inputs and outputs relating formal and informal structures and processes, tracing the effects of political culture, or interpreting the role of partisan politics (See for example, Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Furhman and Rosenthal 1982; Elazar, 1984; Crain, 1969; and Iannaccone, 1967). Our examination of policymakers' informal rules and beliefs about how decisionmaking should or must occur has parallels elsewhere in policy research, however. Lasswell, Lerner and Rothwell's (1952) research on "social circulation" among elites identified trends in recruitment and careers of political leaders. They argued that this defines the processes of control, replication, and continuity in policy systems. Their data showed how personal orientation and behavior fit into a policy culture, and shape the policy making process.

Similarly, Wahlke, et al., (1962), in their research on legislative behavior, found "rules of the game" about (a) predictability of behavior; (b) restraint and canalization of conflict; (c) expediting legislative business; (d) promoting group cohesion or solidarity; and (e) the most desirable personal qualities.

Our analysis explicitly focused on the words used by policymakers -- their modes of expression, of obfuscation, of bias (Schattsneider, 1960). Using their utterances as a key to understanding their assumptive worlds provided insights into the way values are introduced, translated, interpreted, and mobilized within a policy system.

This analysis is a form of political anthropology, a way "to perceive regularities and similarities and differences in behavior, institutions and systems of behavior, and to develop therefrom correlations and principles of behavior" (Merritt, 1970:200). How elites actually behave is dependent upon the aspects of their underlying perspectives that are politically relevant (Merritt, 1970). Policymaking can be viewed as an expression of ceremonial and ritual behavior -- behavior whose authority rests upon the authenticity with which it expresses key symbols and values.

Our interviewing of formal and informal elites contained "inside" stories -- stories about how the powerful act, both in front of and behind the scenes. The data are from elites who were invited to use their own natural language systems to describe and interpret education policy foundation and implementation. Taped interviews typically lasted from 30 to almost 120 minutes.

Methodological Development

Relying on typical field study methods for identifying the normative and cognitive bases for action, and drawing upon Glaser and Strauss's (1967) method of analysis to discover "grounded theory", we examined how policymakers, in their talk, their choices of symbols and metaphors, and their strategies for expanding or reducing conflict, reveal role orientations, group affiliations, and personal preferences or needs. From this data we inferred their understandings of how the policy process is structured and controlled.

Power is enacted through language. Language shapes the meaning and interpretations attached to those events and behaviors (Pfeffer, 1981a, 1981b). In the policy culture, where values and assumptions are necessarily contested, language is a tool for determining which group's definition of the emergent order prevails. Language forces attention to certain information by making that information salient (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978; Rossman, Firestone and Corbett, 1984). In the policy arena, where alliances, power, and boundaries are unclear and shifting, language can be a most powerful tool for embedding values and enforcing norms. "Reality is created through face-to-face interaction and linguistic moves as people are engaging in a high level of symbolic activity" (Rossman, et al., 1984, p. 24).

Language domain analysis provides an orderly interpretation of how people construct their world of experience (Donmoyer 1984). As Burlingame (1983, p. 2) put it, using this method in political research means seeking,

> to identify the characteristic patterns of individuals, how these patterns are influenced by membership in particular

> social groups,... and most importantly, how compromises are struck between differing individuals or groups

He continues, when key actors tell stories about the behavior of others, they

> tell us how power is distributed in our society. The story both creates and displays a universe of "facts" and "values." We are able to ground our construction of life because the story tells us what "is" and what "ought" to be...

The Findings on Assumptive Worlds

Data from West Virginia and Pennsylvania are used in this section to explore four questions.

1. Who has the right and responsibility to initiate policy?
2. What policy ideas are deemed unacceptable?
3. What policy mobilizing activities are deemed appropriate?
4. What are the special conditions of the state?

These questions provide a framework for mapping the policy culture in each state.

Typically, we discovered, the richest data came from stories of mistakes, violations of the rules, and failures to act and think within the assumed parameters in a particular policy culture.

The Right and Responsibility to Initiate

The first important characteristic of policymakers' assumptive worlds is that they specify who is obliged, and who has the right, to initiate action on education policy issues.

Pennsylvania data shows, for example, that the policy culture in this state sharply limits the legitimate role of the CSSO. The CSSO during this study was Robert Wilburn, Secretary of Education.

As a former chief advisor to the governor for budget, he had spent time working closely with key legislators. As CSSO, when the governor publicly took the initiative to set a major policy agenda for education, Wilburn was given responsibility for securing legislative approval of the governor's initiatives. He was respected and viewed as having the full confidence of the governor and the ability to work with key legislators. Policy actors spoke of him with approval. As a result the policy agenda he worked for was approved. One legislator portrayed his close interaction with Wilburn:

> If we have to bat heads on things like House Bill 1181, that's life; he understands, that's life. He's been in the game as Secretary of the Budget. He's been over here in my office at four in the morning and we've been batting heads on the budget.... So far we're getting along very well. (PA,1,2).

Policy actors also spoke approvingly of an earlier CSSO, John Pittenger. He also worked well with legislators, being former legislator himself.

The importance of this pattern of expectations for the Pennsylvania CSSO was clarified in stories and words describing an "errant" CSSO, Robert Scanlon, who filled the office from 1979-1983. Scanlon aggressively pursued education policy change, urging new directions in education philosophy as well as attempting to initiate state mandates for reforms at the local district level. Unfortunately, he was perceived as having acted without adequately consulting the legislature. Rather than political consensus building, Scanlon relied on educational experts and research to plan his reform initiatives. He presented recommendations based on

SDE-staff findings about school districts' preferences -- apparently believing that the validity of his data would compel acceptance of his proposals. But legislators viewed this as manipulative and out of line. Assessing local district preferences was seen as a political matter, rightfully the domain of legislators, Hence, any survey should have been initiated by elected officials (the legislature or the governor). Scanlon came to be viewed as inappropriately making decisions and taking action that affected relations with political constituencies. In short, he violated a well established pattern of expectations. He was, to be sure, the governor's appointee, and had prepared the educational agenda in Governor Thornburg's 1978 campaign platform. But he was a Democrat and Thornburg was Republican. Shortly after Thornburg's reelection in 1982, he was replaced. Robert Wilburn then took over management of Thornburg's education agenda , and helped to recast it in terms of issues address in A Nation at Risk report. Legislators were unusually blunt in their assessment of Scanlon: Scanlon wasn't any longer because he tried to be too activist, to do too much. (PA,3,11).

One legislator recalled the history of conflict with Scanlon to explain who the legislature had to teach the SDE a "lesson" recently:

> We think they've (the SDE) recognized who's who now, since the time a group of legislators got together on that Special Ed thing and they had to withdraw their directives. They came to recognize that there is a legislature. When Scanlon was here he just didn't think there was a legislature. We'd have to remind him: 'Mr. Scanlon, there's a legislature!' (PA,1,10).

Another key legislator described how he had issued a statement to all school districts to disregard Scanlon's directive on special education during that legislative/SDE conflict.

Pennsylvania legislators prefer a CSSO who observes the boundaries of the state policy arena. Policy discretion belongs to elected officials -- not researchers and professional educators who have their own agenda for change. The failure of Secretary Scanlon to capture the policy process brought into sharp focus legislators' awareness of their power and their need to keep a CSSO and a department of education within the proper boundaries of power and discretion. As a result, they created a Regulatory Review Commission to prevent agencies like the SDE from creating or modifying legislative law through their regulations.

In Pennsylvania, then, acceptable CSSOs stay attuned to politics and closely communicate with the legislature, viewing it as the ultimate arbiter of political preferences and policy values. Appointed by the governor, they are seen as the governor's primary education policy advisors. But the CSSO role must be carried out within the constraints and expectations of legislators who have strong views about their proper role and who are quite willing to undermine anyone who takes initiative "improperly."

Prescription for the SDE role. Pennsylvanians have an equally clear set of expectations regarding the proper role of Education Department staff. SDE staff are expected to refrain from initiating policy or lobbying for specific proposals directly. They are expected to provide service and information to interest groups and legislators and other policy actors who do initiate and lobby.

During Scanlon's administration, the SDE in Pennsylvania lost stature because staff violated this operational principle. Legislative staff, lobbyists, and SDE staff used to meet together to plan strategy. In recent years, however, legislative staffers have suspected the SDE of providing false, inadequate, and/or delayed information and statistics. Sanctions were applied, primarily by legislators and staffers refusing to use SDE information. This had the effect of denying SDE access to policy formulation since the SDE could no longer use frame issues by providing the information. Legislators found clandestine ways to obtain SDE data and legislative staff developed their own information gathering expertise independent of the SDE's. Now, strategy sessions includes lobbyists and legislative staffers, but SDE staff are seldom invited. Banter during these strategy sessions include mild ridiculing of the SDE bureaucratic operations and an exhibited group sense that they are able to control and manipulate the SDE, not vice versa.

The SDE in West Virginia has worked much more successfully in a policy culture that also enhances the "no direct policy initiation" rule for staff roles. Here, the SDE functions as subtle lobbyist. In some cases they coordinate pressure groups, as one staff person explained:

> We developed pre-school and handicapped programs with the support of lobby groups. We developed a lobby for it. Realizing the potential violation of cultural norms in this

> statement, this staffer quickly added, I should say the people developed a lobby. (W. VA,1,1)

Another West Virginia staffer described the elaborate process by which a policy thrust, over a three-year period, emerged from an idea, to an SEA proposal, to an SBE priority, to a Board regulation and or legislative action:

> In your (SEA Program) budget-building, you throw in things that you and your staff think they need. Then you develop packages around that .... Feel out the internal processes and prioritize in relationship to what you think you can get.... If you want to be an aggressive executive (rather than waiting for everyone else to define things and then you get on board with them) then you define the needs, capsulize them into packages, and gain support for these programs. For example, I put the Principal's Academy on my list two years ago. It came at about a ten in the SBE's priority list. People saw it and talked about it. The next year, before the budget process came in, we called in all associations and laid out what we were going to do, told them what would be on our list, and if they wanted to support it we'd appreciate it. We also involved key members of the legislature in that discussion... We had internal and external people and had them put it into their legislative programs. Eventually it came out high on the SBE's list. (W VA,1,1)

This staffer again insisted that the Department only generates information for legislators. "We don't officially lobby." (W VA,1,1), he assured us.

This is a conscious, patient sort of control, a slow by SDE staff of support for particular policy proposals. Those who are in for the long term, the bureaucrats, exercise power and influence which is less flashy and obvious then the legislators and governors who must show results and get attention to keep their positions, but the evidence suggests that they are at least as influential over the long run.

Legislative-state school board boundaries. The boundaries separating responsibility, credit, and control over education policy also involve tensions between legislative committees, the Senate Education Committees, and the State Board. In Pennsylvania the House Education Committee Chair, in early 1984, said, "I tell the State Board 'we created you and we could dissolve you'". The state constitution does not provide for a State Board in this state -- it was created through legislative action. Tension came to a head in 1984, when new legislation expanded the state board to include legislators who head the education committees. This maneuver enabled legislators to exercise greater control and limit the competition between board and legislature. One legislator expressed a common sentiment:

> One of the organizations conspicuous by their absence in this dialogue here is the State Board of Education, whom I have a tendency to discount. I think most people in the legislature do, too. They look upon them as meddling fools. (PA,1,11).

The House Education Committee sought to dominate the State Board, the governor, and the SDE by passing legislation mandating higher, less flexible, minimum curriculum requirements and statewide curriculum-based testing. Had it become law, this legislation would have preempted milder state board/CSSO/ governor proposals. The Senate Education Committee maintained that program definition and testing policy were not properly legislative decisions, however. They refused passage of the House Initiatives, restricting the wishes to "Sense of the Senate Resolutions" until the House, CSSO, and governor negotiated a mutually acceptable compromise which the Senate endorsed. In this instance, competition for control of the policy initiative became more important than the actual policy content. While the House Committee's aggressive stance was not fully supported, all parties ultimately agreed to leave initiative in its "proper place" -- the legislature.

Some legislators recognize the assignment of initiative for certain policy issues to the State Board and SDE. One said,

> I thought curriculum changes should be handled by the state board instead of by the legislature. I can't see the legislature standing up and deciding how much time you spend on each course, what courses to teach; I'm not sure that's our function. (PA,1,8).

Generally speaking, Senate members are less activist and interventionist than those in the House. One Senator explained,

> I have a tendency to wait until the wrath of battle passes and then make my decision based upon the result.... (PA,1,11).

In West Virginia, the view that legislators should not get involved in curriculum or program definition was stronger than in Pennsylvania. In this state the policy culture dictates that the state board and the SDE have the right to initiate in these domains. A legislator explained,

> The Department of Education makes the program definition and curriculum decisions.... I think we only react as a legislature. I'm in favor of extending into their [SDE and SBE] area but most legislators are not. (WVA,1,18).

In sum, state-specific cultural definitions of basic operating principles bind the behavior of CSSOs, SBEs, and legislators in each state.

What Policy Ideas Are Deemed Unacceptable

In addition to allocating assumptive worlds, the right to initiate policy to various actors, policymakers provide a common understanding of when policy proposals will be viewed as unacceptable. Much of this understanding is unstated but appears, for example, in Pennsylvania respondent's reported assertion that the reason they have never had a court case on inequity in school finance because every year the state-aid formula is adjusted to promote equity. Unlike West Virginia, where inequality is circulated for many years, the assumptive world of policymakers in Pennsylvania contains broad acceptance of the view that school finance equalization must be assured.

Some policy initiatives are doomed to failure because they challenge the announced views of powerful political interest groups. To propose such policies is widely seen as ridiculous marking the advocates as naive and unrealistic. For example, in Pennsylvania there is considerable behind-the-scenes concern about unanticipated consequences of recent legislation providing transportation of students to non-public schools. To the chagrin of those who originally supported the legislation as an accommodation to support Catholic schools, wealthy parents are using this transportation to send children to exclusive private schools, sometimes into Delaware and New Jersey. Since legislators on key committees have constituents who benefit from this policy. A strategy session, on the possibility of changing the law ended when a legislative staffer said:

> As long as we've got those legislators from those districts there, no proposal will see the light of day. (PA,3,11).

To propose such a policy, given the political reality that legislators have strong commitments to protect the interests of these constituents, is viewed as not only fruitless but as damaging to the credibility of anyone who tries.

Policy proposals that hurt Philadelphia are also out of line. In Pennsylvania it is said,

> No matter what it is, if it's not going to help Philadelphia, then it won't fly.

A legislative committee chairman gave an historical account:

> In the past, we would allocate block grants. In the early '70s Philadelphia sometimes received as much as $50 million in a block grant strictly for Philadelphia. Fortunately that day is gone. A few years ago we had a block grant of an additional $100 million in school subsidy that would have been spread out among 501 districts depending on their aid ratio. (PA,1,11).

This quote reveals the historical importance of Philadelphia's political power -- it also shows the loss of that power in recent years.

Some formal policies are never honored in practice. As a result, their neglect becomes an element in the assumptive world of the policymakers nominally responsible for their oversight. In Pennsylvania, for example, policy mandating state support of 50 per cent of education costs was adopted, but funds to realize this goal have never been appropriated. One policymaker told us,

> The state government which was responsible for paying 50 percent of the cost of education wasn't paying 39 percent and we were really falling behind so we threw an additional $100 million into the pot.... That was the last time we.... came up with a specific allocation for a specific purpose such as that.... We kept falling back from that 50 percent. We were

> down to about 39 percent. I understand this year we'll run 42 or 43. We're coming back, not close to 50, but we're coming back. (PA,1,11).

Though it is a matter of understanding that the law will be routinely violated, there continue to be ritual debates, in which legislators or lobbyists provide figures showing the state falling far below 50 percent and the Governor's representatives give quite different figures. It has become part of the informal policy culture of Pennsylvania that there will be a continuing discrepancy.

Assumptions about dominant interests and traditions. In West Virginia, school finance equalization decisions illustrate another strong assumptive world principle. Until the State Supreme Court's Pauley v. Bailey decision in 1984, spending large amounts of money to produce equal access to educational services had been unthinkable. In the years before the court case, a few legislators had tried to work toward equalizing educational facilities and programs by altering the school-aid formula. But the court's solution -- a massive reform of the tax system, reevaluation of the property holdings in all counties (particularly those with large corporate-mining holdings), and use of state power to collect and distribute monies to aid less property rich districts -- would have been seen as outrageous. But the state supreme court made such outrageous policy. One policy actor explained,

> excited anger because it required okay counties to pay for non-okay counties. (W Va,3,3).

The senator recalled:

> When Recht came down with his decision, all the politicians screamed all of this will cost millions of dollars and we just can't afford it and it's a terrible thing that the judge could be so impractical. It's not common sense as to what can be done in education. He's coming up with all these hyper ideas for bilingual studies and paying teachers all the same! (W Va,1,18).

Previous policy suggestions about equalized pay, bilingual education, increased fiscal investment in education, or state mandated equalization of educational opportunity were considered ridiculous, against the logic of the state's assumptive world. That such policy thrusts were commonplace in other states was irrelevant. It required a policy actor who defied the assumptive worlds -- a state supreme court judge, backed by the testimony of experts and the precedent of other states to issue such a policy. Not surprisingly, the reaction of other policy actors to the Recht decision has been slow compliance and implementation on the one hand, and articulation of an anti-outsider sentiment on the other hand. The governor, in his 1984 State of the State address, asserted that West Virginians can make policy for schools without the intrusion of outsiders. That statement drew the loudest applause of the evening.

Honoring prevailing values. At any given moment each state's policy culture makes assumptions about the nature of acceptable policy mechanisms and goals, thereby focusing the policy discussion.

For example, the assumptive goal of education policy in Pennsylvania is the enhancement of quality. Said one respondent, The present push to raise the standards, with the state board and the legislators all trying to get their stamp on new regulations, is kind of a rush to toughness --- they all want to be perceived as standing for higher quality." (PA,1,18).

This statement reflects the acknowledgement of the ritual of competition for dominance in articulating the prevailing values. More importantly, it demonstrates that assumptive worlds include agreements among dominant actors about what the fundamental goal is. Key policy actors focus their attention on the same goal, and that is where the current game will be played; other values will be subordinated. Policy groups regularly try to ensure that their means-to-the-same-goal proposals prevail. Few offer policy proposals directed toward competing goals. In 1984 it was virtually impossible to challenge the agreed upon assumption that quality improvement is the essential value to be pursued.

In the rush to raise standards there was general avoidance of many issues -- choice in the curriculum, variety, equity, or appropriateness for students, the arts and humanities, and the role of the school in dealing with social issues like drugs and intolerance. Quality was narrowly identify with "basic" education. Those who articulated policies promoting different values sounded irrelevant. They were unheard and likely to lose power in promoting their unfashionable policies.

Thus we see that states' assumptive worlds include understandings about the value and fit of policy proposals. These understandings affect policy outcomes.

Appropriate Uses of Power in Policymaking Activities

This section describes the operational principles by which policy groups attain influence in the state policy culture. Policy actors' abilities to either create or to work within a common value system and rule structure affect their ability to wield influence.

Know your place and cooperate with those in power. Outright rejection of broadly supported values and goals rarely succeeds in redirecting policy debates. In Pennsylvania's state policy culture, for example, the association of local school boards adopted a stance toward the proper basis for policy that virtually destroyed their inability to work within the prevailing assumptive world. The result as noted in chapter IX was extraordinarily low influence. Two quotes illuminate their loss of effective influence:

> I don't look at the school directors' association as that important.... their political clout in this state is nil.... School directors are usually elected because of people like myself and the rest of the political people. So they're not the ones that whip the political clout on you.... Their lobbyist will go to our meetings, and they'll start espousing positions and issues against everything that we do, and they think that we're locked in with the teachers and the administrators associations.... A lot of this animosity came up in the recodification effort. (PA,1,13).

> They were always against recodification. They always would fight us tooth and nail .... They would try to say that it cost too much money, we're mandating too many things. They'd just like to wipe out the whole code and just do it themselves, just at the local level. (PA,1,13).

A number of other respondents echoed this perception that the School Boards Association was inflexible and inappropriately insisted that all states mandate come with full special funding.

In both Pennsylvania and West Virginia, the school boards associations were not seen as a positive members of the education interest group coalition. A key lobbyist explained that the WVSBA prefers to act on its own. He then explained that local school boards are highly political -- at election time, school board members closely watch the positions taken by the local superintendent and frequently retain or fire the superintendent, based on his activities during the election. As a result, the school boards associations in West Virginia) is rejected by other interest groups.

Touch all the bases. The stories of policy actors included a number of incidents where informal rituals of required involvement were violated. The assumptive worlds regarding observance of required çeremonies, underlying structures that constitute boundaries are revealed by these stories. If the boundaries of protocol or areas of responsibility are violated, there must be restitution. If one group gets out of line, the others will punish and restore the boundaries. For example, a legislative education committee chair recalled,

> The Governor called a press conference when I was in New Orleans...to announce his major initiative for education. He should have known better than to do that when I was out of town." (PA,1,8).

The chairman made it clear that legislative action would not proceed as long as such violations continued. Thus, policy actors are constrained in their power to mobilize policy by rules about bases to be touched.

Something for everyone. Mobilization of policy is hampered when policy actors' needs are not met or when proposals would harm their constituents or members. In order for policy proposals to advance, policy actors must be convinced that they will benefit. In Pennsylvania, for example, the CSSO explained the necessary strategy for consensus, given his perception of competition among interest groups:

> When we were formulating the new curriculum regulations ... The process was interesting because no one got everything he wanted, but they (all of the interest group representatives) were able to see that no one else got everything they wanted either... I think some of the groups care as much about what other people are getting as what they themselves want.... Consequently, there was very little resistance to its passage. (PA,1,18)

Bet on the winner. Campaigning for a candidate who loses is a sure way to lose power and opportunities to have one's values and needs incorporated in policy. For example, the Pennsylvania teachers' association's easy access to the governor's office in Governor Thornburg's first term disappeared when the association supported Thornburg's challenger. Thornburg won and PSEA lost in power and ability to present its positions to the man who was in the process of becoming the most influential education policy actor in that state.

Similarly, the Chairmen of the West Virginia Senate Finance and Education Committee lost staff and office and even membership on the committees when they supported the losing candidate for governor. The new education and finance committee chairs were relative newcomers to education issues. One said that he took the chairmanship of education because nobody else (among those who had campaigned for the winners) wanted it. In these cases, the principle of betting on the winner outweighed any logic regarding the "authority of expertise".

Limits on social relationships. Inevitably, with their frequent sharing of policy campaigns, information, and work space, policy actors develop friendships and special helping relationships. However, when policy or career interests demand abrogation of the special relationship, it can sometimes be done with impunity and clear conscience. Several Pennsylvania policy actors shared ownership in a racehorse, and the camaraderie that accompanies such sport. This lent the appearance that these policy actors were sharing information and working together on policies. However, one of these policy actors told the story of being surprised when his friend withheld information and took an opposing position. He learned that policy actors' guiding principles put political career maintenance above friendship.

Constraints on staffers. Legislative staff work within a set of historically-set operational principles. In West Virginia, there are few legislative staffers; those who are in permanent positions do have a national perspective. Few of these are women, in fact, there are few professional women in the state policy arena. One staffer commented that professional women live with the realization that they must be different, must make a distinction between themselves and those who, in the past, were secretaries of legislators who were very probably their mistresses too, who got the best parking places. The staffer called this "whore-hiring" and commented (as did others) that some legislators still see belonging to the legislature as a way to have a lark in the capitol. Staffers' status is still being established in that state.

On the other hand, in Pennsylvania, several key legislators, even the "education specialist" legislators, openly stated that their staff were the ones who really knew education policy. Staffers' status may be quite dependent upon what is conferred by legislators, combined with the perceptions and expectations of staffers historically. Thus the legislative staff, no matter how expert, must carefully cultivate the good will of legislators. To do so, they must ensure that their information and assistance is keyed into the value systems, and into the framework of the dominant values.

Work with the constraints and tricks that are known. There are accepted tricks known and used by policy actors for circumventing problems. In both West Virginia and Pennsylvania policy actors "close their eyes" and allow the Department of Education to overestimate the cost of bus transportation in their budget so that they can "enjoy that flexibility" (W VA,3,15). There is an understanding among the Department of Education, key lobbyists, and legislative staff that this trick is functional.

In West Virginia, state budgeting processes would be upset by massive strikes. However, policy actors have built in the expectation that there will be a coal miners' strike every four years. History, the sense of coal miners' solidarity, and the constitutional mandate to balance the budget require that the budgeting process build in this expectation of lower revenues during a strike. Everyone knows that in the West Virginia state policy culture.

Policy actors' sponsorship of policy issue networks. Kirst (1981) identified the existence of policy issue networks, whereby values-assumptions, ways of framing policy issues, research reports, and consultants spread ideas for education policy formulation among states. There was evidence of this phenomenon with a few policy actors, particularly through contacts with research institutions, universities, Education Commission of the States, National Conference of State Legislators, and the like. They use these contacts to get information on the standing of their state on different educational measures and initiatives, and to get ideas. Legislators' participation in Education Commission of the States and, in West Virginia, the Southern Regional Education Conference enhanced the spread of ideas for education policy formulation too.

Policy issue networks also function within the national education interest group structures but they particularly function within regions. Thus, a Pennsylvania teachers association lobbyist gleans information about salary and pension policies along with ways of conceptualizing issues from counterparts in others states at their regional meetings. West Virginia policy actors' ties with the Southern Regional Education Council have shaped their ideas and policy formulation, to the exclusion of other associations -- they seldom attend ECS or other conferences, feeling they get all they needs from Southern.

Key policy actors' sponsorship is essential before this information gleaned from educational researchers or from interstate commissions will be used. Dominant actors' perception of the importance of research and interstate communication determines its use. For example, a West Virginia Principals' Academy was initiated by the combined efforts of the SDE and the House Education Committee Chair, with the support of a staff grant from the National Council of State Legislators for applying the "effective schools research" to policy. Contacts were made with the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the Southern Regional Educational Council, but the coalition of dominant actors promoting the policy was more important to success than the research base.

A Pennsylvania Senator's words offer a possible explanation for resistance to use of research and experts in that state:

> I don't think education in this state has had spectacular leadership. I think aggressive leadership has its hazards, and the legislature is one of those hazards. The legislature doesn't like bright, hard-working people -- educators -- and they have a tendency to be threatened by them. It brings out the worst in the legislative process. (PA,1,11).

The use of interstate comparisons to justify policy. A common activity in policy formulation, related to policy issue networks, is making comparisons with other states. This ranges from an opportunistic use of crude comparisons to justify policy proposals, to a general and continuing concern for the state's standing in comparison to other states. For example, the Pennsylvania policy proposal for statewide minimum salary was promoted by a coalition among teachers' associations and the House Education Committee chair. They gained credibility by citing how many other states are using or proposing minimum salary scales. They did not, of course, mention that the other states have state structures, such as West Virginia's lack of collective bargaining and 70 percent state funding of education, quite different from Pennsylvania, where the state funds less than 50 percent of education costs and salaries are negotiated at local level.

Experimenting with untested policies. Part of the assumptive world in West Virginia is an understanding that there can be no outright experimentation in education policy. One legislative staffer, while discussing innovative ideas for policy, said:

> Such things won't happen real fast because if you propose it, the first thing they'll have to know is what other states are doing it and how did it work and how much did it cost and what are the results. They won't consider it without that kind of information. (W VA,2,21).

This comment was buttressed by an SDE senior staffer's description of the laborious process of moving the idea of Principals Academy policy from conception to implementation, through the maze of resistance.

Special State Conditions Affecting Policy

State policy actors hold assumptions about the unique features of their state that shape their policymaking. There is a prevailing story about what features of the state that must be considered in evaluating all policy proposals.

West Virginia's policy actors, for example, were constantly aware that they ranked near the bottom of all states on teacher salary, graduation rates, etc. Many policy decisions are justified by reference to statistical comparisons with other states. The walls of the House Education Committee meeting room had a huge chart, with West Virginia highlighted, showing the United States Department of Education statistics on inputs and outputs in the education systems of all the states. Many West Virginia policy actors cited these statistics as they explained education policy issues.

Cultural expectations. Intriguing data on how cultural expectations combine with economic and social realities to affect state education policymaking come from West Virginia. One legislative staffer told the classic joke about West Virginia's attitude toward education:

> There's an old saying about the West Virginian who said, 'I went to first grade, then I went to second grade, and by golly, by then I decided that going on to higher education was not for me!' (W VA,3).

Although West Virginia is currently making major strides toward statewide improvement in its education system, this story provides a sense of historical context. Another informant reported that out-of-state corporations owning land and mineral rights, have a vested interest in avoiding property tax assessment and keeping education costs low. His sense was that West Virginians have a passive attitude, a feeling that if you don't strive for an excellent education system you can't be called a failure.

The Effects of Assumptive Worlds in the Policy. The findings presented above identified four broad domains within which the assumptive worlds of policymakers shape their perceptions and actions. Using data from two of the six states studied, we illustrated the ways in which policy cultures: (1) control policy initiation, (2) determine what proposals will be deemed unworthy of serious consideration, (3) limit the range of acceptable political mobilizing activity and (4) remind policymakers of special conditions within their states. We turn now to an examination of how these cultural assumptions contribute to the overall process of embedding values in concrete policy decisions. As suggested in Figure 9-1, policy cultures and their related assumptive worlds make two distinctly different contributions to the policy process. First, they have the effect of creating and maintaining a stable and predictable decisionmaking environment. Second, they build cohesion among decisionmakers, facilitate coalition formation and, hence, help to channel power and influence toward specific decision issues.

Creating and Maintaining a Predictable Environment

Order and predictability in the state policy culture are maintained by the rules regarding areas of right and responsibility to initiate and the rules of behavior for using power to mobilize policy. These cultural elements are understood by insiders in the policy arena. In an environment where the competition for control

FIGURE 10-1

Functions of the Operational Principles of Assumptive Worlds

Action Guide Domains and Operational Principles	Maintain Power and Predictability	Promote Cohesion
Who has the Right and Responsibility to Initiate?		
The prescription for the CSSO role	X	
The prescription for the SDE role	X	
Legislative - SBE boundaries	X	
Variations in initiative in legislature	X	
What Policy Ideas are Deemed Unacceptable?		
Policies that trample on powerful interests		X
Policies that lead to open defiance		X
Policies that defy tradition and dominant interests		X
Policy debates that diverge from the prevailing value		X
Untested "unworkable" policy		X
What Uses of Power in Policymaking Activities are Appropriate?		
Know your place and cooperate with the powerful	X	
Something for everyone	X	
Touch all the bases	X	
Bet on the winner	X	
Limits on social relationships	X	
Constraints on staffers	X	
Work with constraints and tricks		X
Policy actors sponsorship of policy issue network		X
Uses of interstate comparison		X
What are the Special State Condition Affecting Policy?		
Cultural characteristics		X
Geographical demographic characteristics		X

is the main game, there has to be a system which defines renegade behavior. The data are replete with statements about what is proper behavior and even more replete with stories about remembered violations. Policy actors' stories about their own acculturation in the policy arena are full of examples of learning by faux pas and of dismay when others violate the rules, overstep the boundaries, or fail to observe the rituals. In the policy world, there is a predictability that comes from the assumptive world. Stability is created, everyone knows, for example, who will be allowed to share in agenda-building. There is security in knowing that the ritual of touching all bases, involvement, and sharing information will be observed. Behavior that, in another setting would be upsetting, e.g. not supporting a friend's position, or compromising to ensure something for everyone, is not only acceptable but necessary when the prevailing culture calls for boundary maintenance and respect for established values. Every effective member of the policy culture knows this. Those who do not observe this system of rules upset the stability. They not only risk losing their own positions of power, but they deflect the attention of many others away from the policy issues themselves in order to rebuild the hare cultural framework that provides the criteria for accommodation and compromise.

This system of rules, roles, proper behavior and boundaries is most effective in maintaining stable power relationships. Groups and individuals can gain power if they succeed in challenging the rules and changing the the culture. If they try and fail, however, they suffer insignificant losses. Most of the time, most policymakers prefer using the power and position given them by the prevailing culture to the high risks involved with trying to change it.

The Effect of Building Cohesion

Since every policy culture made up of individuals with a broad array of different personal values and biographies and groups with an array of positions, demands, and competing values, policy actors must find a way to come to agreement from time to time, albeit temporarily, on a particular policy choice. While the range of options for policymaking is theoretically infinite, actual policy debates are conducted within a rather limited range. Assumptive world function to limit the range of options and focus debate within certain understood priorities.

The common understandings about what matters, are part of the fundamental nature of every state system, they constrain policy choices and create a shared sense of what threatens the present system, and what opportunities for action should be considered promising. The use of symbolically powerful words, phrases and ceremonial activities evoke dominant themes, and condense a load of state-specific meanings into provocative value positions and issues that bring people together for action. The resulting group cohesion allows a shorthand communication system to develop among insiders in policymaking. Dissonant ideas are not articulated; policies that promote unfashionable values are not formulated. It also functions to exclude those who know only the surface language, without its deeper meaning and symbolic load. It facilitates policymaking; it also limits policymaking by excluding people and ideas that do not fit with the local language and stories.

Implications

Assumptive Worlds as Values-Translators

Fitting into a state-specific assumptive world means complying with the rules and working within the constraints of proper ideas and behavior, only proposing ideas that are "appropriate", attuned to the unique features of that state. Aberrant behavior, ideas, and proposals are filtered out. Thus, in order to have their ideas and values incorporated in the policymaking process, state policy actors must move away from the parochial values and preferences of the people they originally represent. They must be re-created to fit within the assumptive world of the policymaking system. They must, in effect, be translated so that they will be recognized, included, and heard in the policy culture.

Where the translation fails, as was the case with the Pennsylvania teachers association support for a state-wide minimum salary. Their proposal was not given serious consideration because it could not be translated to fit into the context of an assumptive world where the PSEA had backed a political loser, and where school boards incessantly demanded that the state pay for the full cost of any state mandate. In addition, the proposal was not part of the governor's initiative, at a time when the governor, the CSSO, and the key legislators were coalescing around quality as the understood goal and personnel rather than finance reform as the appropriate approach.

Thus policy actors alter, re-phrase, create, change the image and symbols, and change the content and goals of policy preferences if they are to maintain power and have a chance of seeing their needs met. The alterations are made in response to the assumptive worlds. They translate preferences to fit.

Assumptive Worlds as Barometers of Change

Action guides are embedded in the assumptive worlds shared by state policy actors. When there is a shift in the policy culture, existing assumptive worlds are upset. The turmoil revealed in stories of "outrageous" behavior, wild proposals, policies that jar tradition. For example, when Pennsylvania's Governor Thornburg announced his 1983 comprehensive agenda for education, this upset the hierarchy and boundaries of power and responsibility in that policy culture. Similarly, Judge Recht's decree that the legislature must equalize West Virginia school children's access to quality education signalled realignment of values. In these cases, state policy actors defied the assumptive worlds. They did so with enough force and power to change the assumptive worlds of other key actors. Thornburg's action signalled a new alignment which legislators, the CSSO, and other policy actors had to consider in all future policy mobilization. Recht's decision forced the West Virginia policy culture to alter its values and re-shape its ideas of "fashionable policies" to include equity goals, tied to the state tax system.

In the Recht and Thornburg examples, powerful actors applying the force of formal authority were able to upset the stable hierarchy and alter the values in the policy culture. Less powerful actors attempting to defy the assumptive worlds would risk sanctions--loss of power and exclusion from policy deliberations.

The A Nation at Risk report provides and excellent example of outside influence that upset the assumptive worlds of state policy actors. The national attention given to the quality of education in this report obligated formal policy actors to respond. In states where CSSOs and legislators had formulated education policy agendas, governors, like Thornburg, had to respond. The Risk report, with its policy proposals for specific mechanisms for controlling quality implementation of quality improvements (e.g. required homework, competency exams) obligated policy actors to demonstrate an assertive, controlled program of school improvement or else, in effect, admit to constituents that there was no leadership for excellence in education.

Upsets in the assumptive worlds -- boundary crossing, defiance of norms, policy proposals that veer away from tradition -- are indicators of significant shifts in values, power alignments and understandings about what is possible and preferable. Assumptive worlds are barometers that predict change in state policy cultures.

Any effort to explain education policymaking must eventually come to terms with the assumptive worlds of key policy actors. In our view, the concept of policy culture, with its embedded assumptive worlds, provides the integrative core for a theory of educational policymaking. Policy cultures arise from the history, the values and role obligations of key actors, the formal structure of power and responsibility, partisan politics, and the informal processes of the policy world. The assumptive worlds unique to each state's policy culture binds together the other elements of the policy system. Revealed by the words and stories of individual policymakers, assumptive worlds link all other elements of the policy system into an organize whole, capable of guiding and sustaining intelligent behavior on the part of individuals and groups within the systems.

Footnote

In order to protect anonymity, subjects are given labels; first their state is identified, then the type of data collection, then the number assigned to that particular informant. Thus PA,1,11 means this Pennsylvania quote is from round 1 of data collection, code number is 11. W VA,2,22 is a West Virginian quoted from round 2 of data collection, and her code number is 22. Data collected from participant observation were designated as round 3. Thus W VA,3,14 is West Virginia data collected during informal participant observation 3 and the person providing the datum was code number 14.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.

FIRST ROUND INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

(Initial Interviews with Key Policy Actors)

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT:

It's good of you to take the time to meet with me...

As you may recall from my letter, I am part of a research team being supported by the National Institute of Education to review state-level education policies. We will be taking a detailed look at six states -- trying to develop a comprehensive picture of each state's overall policy framework. We will be looking at education statutes and regulations in each state, but will need help from knowledgeable people like yourself in order to get a feel for how written policies are working out in actual practice.

This is the first of several visits which I and (name), my research associate will be making to (The State Capital). This week I'll be interviewing about a dozen key people here in (The State Capital) -- some elected officials, a small group of senior staff people, and a few representatives of the major education interest groups. While I'm doing these interviews, (name) will be spending time in the state library collecting various documents and reports which will help to clarify the educational policy picture for us.

Before we begin, I would like to record our conversation, if I may -- that way I won't have to slow down to take notes. The recording will be for research purposes only -- no one except members of our research team will have access to the tape, and we won't be quoting people by name in our final report. If in the course of our conversation anything comes up which you would rather not have on tape, just shut the machine off with the switch here on the microphone (indicate how to work the switch).

(After the recorder is working)... There are three matters I'd like to ask you about:

1. Key actors in (name of state's) education policymaking that you feel we should be sure to talk with,

2. Any reports or other documents you think would be helpful to us in getting a clearer picture of education policy in this state, and

3. I'd like you to give me a little background on ________________ policies in this state. (Indicate one of the seven SPMs.)

Perhaps you have some questins about the project before we begin? (Remember that review and analysis of overall policy frameworks and basic education policy goals are the key terms in our explanation of the project).

OK, let's talk about the key education policy people in this state. If we could only do 8 or 10 interviews on education policy issues in this state, who would you suggest that we talk to? (Ask about knowledgeable people in each of the seven policy areas: governance, revenue generation, resource allocation, program definition, personnel certification, student assessment, and curriculum materials development).

Let's talk a bit about printed material which might help us get a handle on policy and practice in this state. Can you put me onto any good reports or summaries of education policy in this state/ (Probe for help regarding each of the seven policy areas, as well as general information about issues and practices).

Could we turn now to a bit of background in the area of (particular policy area). I know this state has ______________________________ and ______________________________ (name a couple of policy elements) in this area. How would you describe the overall framework of (particular policy area) policy?

What do you feel are the most important goals or objectives of policy in this area?

Have there been major changes in this area in the last few years? (What brought those changes about?)

Are you personally happy with the way these policies are working?

CLOSING STATEMENT:

Thank you for your time (this morning)--you have been extremely helpful. We would like to come back to talk with you again at a later date, after we've had a chance to review the available written material and talked to some of the other key people. By that time, I hope we'll have a pretty good idea about how our six states differ, and you could help me check on our interpretation of the major education issues and goals in this state. At that point, we'd be happy to provide you with some information about our overall analysis, if you'd be interested.

APPENDIX 2

SECOND ROUND INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

ALTERNATIVE STATE EDUCATION POLICY MECHANISMS PROJECT

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT:

To those interviewed previously: Since we last talked I have met with the other team members on our state-level education policy research project. We had a chance to compare notes on the different approaches to K-12 education policy being used in our six state sample.

Now we would like to ask you, along with the others we have previously interviewed, to respond to a common set of questions so that we can compare policies and programs across the states.

To those not previously interviewed: As I mentioned in our letter, I am part of a team funded by the National Institute of Education to take a look at state-level education policy in six states. Preliminary interviews were held in each state a few months ago. The people interviewed in this state identified you as a person we should be sure to talk with in order to get a full understanding of K-12 education policy in this state.

Since doing our preliminary interviews, the research team met to discuss the various approaches to K-12 education policy being taken in our six sample states. We have developed a common set of questions to be used in each state so that we can more fully understand the similarities and differences in approach across the sample states.

If you don't mind, I would like to tape record our interview.

*** TURN ON TAPE RECORDER ***

Although the specifics differ from state to state, our preliminary work indicates that similar basic issues are being worked on in most states. I would like to go over some of these issues with you--they are described on the pages of this notebook.

*** GIVE RESPONDENT THE NOTEBOOK ***

1. On the first page of the notebook, you will see a list of seven of broad educational policy issues areas that we have found to be important in the six states we have been studying. Which of these seven policy areas would you say has been getting the most attention in your state over the last two or three years?

Which has been receiving the least amount of attention?

Could you rank order the others? 2. How do you feel about the relative amount of attention being given to each of these policy domains? Do you feel that some areas should be getting more attention? Are some getting too much attention? Which ones?

3. Would you look at the list of seven policy domains once again and pickthe three areas in which you feel most knowledgeable--I would like to have you look somewhat more closely at State policy in each of these areas.

FOR THE THREE SPMs FOR WHICH EACH RESPONDENT IS MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE ASK:

4. If you would turn to the next (next) page in the notebook you will see that our preliminary work identified:

Five.... basic approaches ......School Finance
Four to policy making School Personnel Policy
Five.... in the area of ......Student Testing & Assessment
Four School Program Definition
Eight.............................School Governance
Three Curriculum Materials Development
Four..............................School Buildings & Facilities

Would you look at the alternative approaches to SPM.

Which of these No. approaches has been receiving the most attention in recent SPM policy decisions in this state?

Which would you personally view as the least promising?

(If more than 3) How would you personally rank the others?

7. Could you give me an example of how you would like to see this state incorporate Approach given as #1 into SPM policy?

8. On a scale of 1 to 10, how likely is it that this state will follow your preferences on SPM policy in the near future?

GO BACK TO QUESTION 4 UNTIL ALL SPMs ARE COVERED.
AFTER ALL OF THE SPMs HAVE BEEN COVERED, GO TO NEXT PAGE.

9. Please turn to the next page in the notebook. This page asks you to indicate whether State has responded directly to the report of the

President's "Commission on Excellence". Five recommendations from the Commission report are present in a sort of "box-score" format. Would you mark directly on the form provided whether any of these recommendations have been receiving attention? Mark the appropriate column for each recommendation that has gotten attention.

10. The next two pages ask you to record your own personal judgments regarding the relative important of various educational policy problems and the relative influence of various participants in the state policy making system. Would you take 5 minutes or so to record your views on these two pages?

11. Around the country, there are different ways that people view government and politics. This may well affect education policy in each of our six states. Would you please give me your perceptions of how peope in this state feel?

12. The last two pages in the notebook asks for a little information about your personal background and training. If you would complete them now, I will be finished with my questions--then I'll be glad to answer any questions you may have about any aspect of our project.

****THANK EACH PARTICIPANT FOR THEIR COOPERATION****

APPENDIX 3.

DATA RECORDING FORM FOR FINAL INTERVIEWS

RESPONDENT:________________________

STATE:______________________________

POSITION:___________________________

DATE:______________TIME:__________

CODE:______________________________

On the seven policy domains: 1. Attention. 2. Needs + or - 3. Knowledge

I. School Finance

II. Personnel

III. Test/Assessment

IV. Program Definition

V. Governance

VI. Curriculum Materials

VII. Plant & Facilities

1. State's rank order of approaches:

___A. Equalizing
___B. Limiting/Increasing
___C. Targeting
___D. Financing
___E. Offsetting

2. Example of a specific policy incorporating the approach getting the most attention:

3. Personal ranking of approaches:

___A. Equalizing
___B. Limiting/Increasing
___C. Targeting
___D. Financing
___E. Offsetting

4. Personal example of how state should incorporate approach ranked #1:

5. Estimate of likelihood that state will follow personal preferences:

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

II. SCHOOL PERSONNEL POLICY:

1. State's rank order of approaches:

___A. Pre-Service/Cert.
___B. Professional Development
___C. Accountability
___D. Changing Tchr. Job Definitions

2. Example of a specific policy incorporating the approach getting the most attention:

3. Personal ranking of approaches:

___A. Pre-Service/Cert.
___B. Professional Development
___C. Accountability
___D. Changing Tchr. Job Definitions

4. Personal example of how state should incorporate approach ranked #1:

5. Estimate of likelihood: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

III. TESTING & ASSESSMENT:

1. State's rank order of approaches:

___A. Format or Content ___B. Special Program Placement

___C. Evaluate Tchrs/Pgms ___D. Measure Non-academic Outcomes

___E. Require Locals to Develop Own Tests

2. Example of a specific policy incorporating the approach getting the most attention:

3. Personal ranking of approaches:

___A. Format or Content ___B. Special Program Placement

___C. Evaluate Tchrs/Pgms ___D. Measure Non-academic Outcomes

___E. Require Locals to Develop Own Tests

4. Personal example of how state should incorporate approach ranked #1:

5. Estimate of likelihood: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

IV. PROGRAM DEFINITION POLICY:

1. State's rank order of approaches:

___A. Changing Time Reqs. ___B. Mandating Specific Subjects

___C. Setting Higher Stds. ___D. Dev. Pgms. for Special Groups

2. Example of a specific policy incorporating the appraoch getting the most attention:

3. Personal ranking of approaches:

___A. Changing Time Reqs. ___B. Mandating Specific Subjects

___C. Setting Higher Stds. ___D. Dev. Pgms. for Special Groups

4. Personal example of how state should incorporate approach ranked #1:

5. Estimate of likelihood: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

V. SCHOOL GOVERNANCE POLICY

1. State's rank order of approaches:

___A. State Level Redist. ___B. State at Expense of Locals
___C. Strength. Site Level ___D. Strengthen Teachers
___E. Student Rights ___F. Administrative Control
___G. Citizen Influence ___H. Alter Local District Role

2. Example of a specific policy incorporating the approach getting the most attention:

3. Personal ranking of approaches:

___A. State Level Redist. ___B. State at Expense of Locals
___C. Strength. Site Level ___D. Strengthen Teachers
___E. Student Rights ___F. Administrative Control
___G. Citizen Influence ___H. Alter Local District Role

4. Personal example of how state should incorporate approached ranked #1:

5. Estimate of likelihood: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

IV. CURRICULUM MATERIALS POLICY:

1. State's rank order of approaches:

___A. Mandating Local Use ___B. Specifying Scope and Sequence
___C. Develop Specialized Materials

2. Example of a specific policy incorporating the approach getting the most attention:

3. Personal ranking of approaches:

___A. Mandating Local Use ___B. Specifying Scope and Sequence
___C. Develop. Specialized Materials

4. Personal example of how state should incorporate approach ranked #1:

5. Estimate of likelihood: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

VII. BUILDING & FACILITIES:

1. State's rank order of approaches:

___A. Tech./Arch. Review

___B. Long Range Planning

___C. Remediation of Probs.

___D. New Instructional Capacities

2. Example of a specific policy incorporating the approach getting the most attention:

3. Personal ranking of approaches:

___A. Tech./Arch. Review

___B. Long Range Planning

___C. Remediation of Probs.

___D. New Instructional Capacities

4. Personal example of how state should incorporate approach ranked #1:

5. Estimate of likelihood: 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10.

APPENDIX 4.

NATION AT RISK REPORT CARD

THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS WERE MADE IN "THE NATION AT RISK"

WHAT, IF ANY, ATTENTION ARE THEY RECEIVING IN YOUR STATE?

Circle a number from 1 to 5 following each recommendation according to the following:

1 = No Action or Serious Discussion,

2 = Serious Discussion, No Specific Proposals Made,

3 = Bill or Regulation Introduced, Not Passed,

4 = Bill or Regulation Adopted, Not Yet Implemented,

5 = Implementation Under Way.

1. Require Four Years of English For High School Graduation .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
2. Require Three Years of Math for High School Graduation .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
3. Require Two Years of Science for High School Graduation .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
4. Require Three Years of Social Studies for High School Graduation .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
5. Require One-Half Year of Computer Science for High School Graduation .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
6. Require Foreign Language Courses .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
7. Require Fine/Performing Arts Courses .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
8. Require Vocational Education .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
9. Raise College/University Admissions Standards ..... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
10. Use Standardized Tests to Certify Student Achievement .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5
11. Use Standardized Tests to Identify Remediation Needs .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

12. Use Standardized Tests for Entry to
Accelerated Work .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

13. Upgrade Textbooks .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

14. Identify Alternative Textbooks for Children
with Special Needs (handicapped, disadvantaged,
gifted, etc.) .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

15. Increase Homework Requirements .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

16. Provide Instruction in Effective
Study/Work Skills .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

17. Extend School Day (up to 7 hours) .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

18. Extend School Year (up to 220 days) .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

19. Provide Extra Time for Children with
Special Needs .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

20. Strengthen Student Discipline Code .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

21. Provide Incentives to Reduce
Student Absence/Tardiness .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

22. Adopt Academic Criteria for
Promotion/Graduation .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

23. Establish Competency Standards for
Teacher Certification .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

24. Establish 11-month Contracts for Teachers .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

25. Establish Career Ladders for Teachers .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

26. Grant Immediate Credentials to Persons
Holding Math/Science degrees .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

27. Create Grant/Loan Program for
Teacher Training Candidates .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

28. Identify Master Teachers to Supervise
New Teachers .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

29. Train Principals/Superintendents for
Instructional Leadership .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

30. Train Principals/Superintendents in
Personnel Evaluation .... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

APPENDIX 5.

POLITICAL VALUES INSTRUMENT

WHAT DO YOU FEEL ARE THE IMPORTANT EDUCATION POLICY PROBLEMS IN YOUR STATE?

Indicate your views by placing an "x" on the line nearer to the phrase in each pair that you feel is more important. Mark the space closest to the end of the line if that item is much more important than the other; mark the next space if it is somewhat more important; and mark the space close to the center of the line if it is only a little more important.

INCREASING PROGRAM FLEXIBILITY	____:____:____::____:____:____	MAKING PROGRAMS MORE COST-EFFECTIVE
IMPROVING THE USE OF EDUCATION TAX DOLLARS	____:____:____::____:____:____	GREATER EQUALIZATION OF RESOURCES
MORE EFFICIENT SCHOOL MANAGEMENT	____:____:____::____:____:____	PROVIDING MORE CHOICES FOR FAMILIES & CHILDREN
MAKING PROGRAMS MORE COST-EFFECTIVE	____:____:____::____:____:____	SETTING HIGHER ACADEMIC STANDARDS
REDUCING RESTRICTIONS ON LOCAL EXPENDITURES	____:____:____::____:____:____	IMPROVING THE USE OF EDUCATION TAX DOLLARS
INCREASING PROGRAM FLEXIBILITY	____:____:____::____:____:____	GIVING MORE ATTENTION TO CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS
INCREASING THE LEVEL OF FUNDING FOR SCHOOLS	____:____:____::____:____:____	GREATER EQUALIZATION OF RESOURCES
BROADER PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	____:____:____::____:____:____	MORE EFFICIENT SCHOOL MANAGEMENT
GIVING MORE ATTENTION TO CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS	____:____:____::____:____:____	SETTING HIGHER ACADEMIC STANDARDS
REDUCING RESTRICTIONS ON LOCAL EXPENDITURES	____:____:____::____:____:____	INCREASING THE LEVEL OF FUNDING FOR SCHOOLS
DEVELOPING QUALITY CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP	____:____:____::____:____:____	PROVIDING MORE CHOICES FOR FAMILIES & CHILDREN

SETTING HIGHER ACADEMIC STANDARDS	____:____:____::____:____:____	INCREASING PROGRAM FLEXIBILITY
GREATER EQUALIZATION OF RESOURCES	____:____:____::____:____:____	REDUCING RESTRICTIONS ON LOCAL EXPENDITURES
PROVIDING MORE CHOICES FOR FAMILIES & CHILDREN	____:____:____::____:____:____	BROADER PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING
MORE EFFICIENT SCHOOL MANAGEMENT	____:____:____::____:____:____	DEVELOPING QUALITY CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP
GIVING MORE ATTENTION TO CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS	____:____:____::____:____:____	MAKING PROGRAMS MORE COST-EFFECTIVE
IMPROVING THE USE OF EDUCATION TAX DOLLARS	____:____:____::____:____:____	INCREASING THE LEVEL OF FUNDING FOR SCHOOLS
DEVELOPING QUALITY CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP	____:____:____::____:____:____	BROADER PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING

APPENDIX 6.

COMPARATIVE INFLUENCE RANKING INSTRUMENT

PLEASE CIRCLE A NUMBER FROM 1 TO 7 TO INDICATE THE LEVEL OF INFLUENCE OVER EDUCATION POLICY EXERCISED DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS BY EACH OF THE FOLLOWING IN YOUR STATE:

	Very Lo >>>-----> Very Hi
a. The Governor and the Executive Staff	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
b. The Chief State School Officer and Senior Staff in the State Dept. of Education	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
c. The State Board of Education	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
d. The State Legislature	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
1. Leading Members of Legislative Committees ..	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
2. Key Legislative Staff Consultants	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
e. All the Education Interest Groups Combined	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
1. The Teacher Organization(s)	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
2. The State Administrator Organization(s)	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
3. The State Association of Local School Boards	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
4. Lay Groups (PTA, advisory councils, etc.)...	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
f. Non-Educator Interest Groups (business leaders, taxpayer groups, etc.)....	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
g. Producers of Education Related Products (textbook mfgrs., test producers, etc.)......	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
h. Direct Referenda Initiated by Citizens	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
i. The Courts (State or Federal)	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
j. Federal Policy Mandates to the States	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
k. Education Research Organizations	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7
l. Any Others:________________________________....	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7

APPENDIX 7.

POLITICAL CULTURE ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT

HOW DO PEOPLE IN YOUR STATE VIEW GOVERNMENT?

Around the country people view government and politics in different ways. These differences may affect education policy. Would you please give us your perceptions of how people in your state feel. Please place a "1" beside the phrase that best completes each of the following statements. Place a "2" beside the second best phrase, and a "3" beside the least descriptive phrase. Remember, we are seeking your perception of how people in your state generally feel about these matters.

1. Generally speaking, government is viewed as ...

___ something like a marketplace, where policy demands and political resources are exchanged.

___ a means for achieving a good community through goal-setting and program development.

___ a means of maintaining the existing social order through laws and regulations.

2. The most appropriate sphere of government activity is seen as ...

___ economic--support for private initiative, guaranteeing contracts, economic development, etc.

___ community enhancement--public services, community development, social and economic regulation, etc.

___ maintenance of traditional social patterns and norms--setting social standards, enforcing separation of private and public sector activity,etc.

3. Governmental programs are generally initiated when ...

___ public demand is strong and direct.

___ political leaders identify community needs.

___ they serve the interests of those in power.

4. Governmental bureaucracies are viewed ...

___ ambivalently--they are efficient but interfere with direct political control over public services.

___ positively--they insure political neutrality and effectiveness in the delivery of public services.

___ negatively--they depersonalize government and reduce overall program performance.

5. Civil service or merit systems for government employees are ...

___ accepted in principle, but poorly implemented.

___ broadly supported and well implemented.

___ rejected as interfering with needed political control.

6. Generally, the public views politics as ...

___ a distasteful or dirty business--left to those who are willing to engage in that sort of thing.

___ an important healthy part of every citizen's civic duty.

___ an activity for special groups of people with unique qualifications.

7. Politics is viewed as an activity for ...

___ political party professionals.

___ all citizens.

___ members of civic, economic, family, or other elite groups.

8. Political parties are seen as ...

___ business organizations--organizing political interest groups; providing rewards and assigning responsibilities.

___ issue-oriented groups--articulating goals and mobilizing support for programs

___ leadership recruitment agencies -- providing access for individuals who would not be supported by established power holders.

9. Membership in the political parties is ...

___ pragmatic but loyal--the parties are coalitions of interest groups.

___ subordinate to principles and issues--creating tenuous loyalty to the parties.

___ based on historic family, ethnic, social, economic ties--creating strong traditional loyalties to the party.

10. Competition among the parties is ...

___ active, but not over issues or ideological principles.

___ focused on issues, philosophy, or basic principles.

___ primarily between elite-dominated factions within the party.

11. The dominant aim of party competition appears to be ...

___ winning offices and other tangible rewards.

___ gaining broad support for a program or policy.

___ extending the control of particular elite groups.

APPENDIX 8.

PERSONAL DATA COLLECTION FORM

Please check the appropriate response to each of the following questions about yourself:

1. How long have you held your present position?

___ Less than 2 years.
___ 2 to 4 years.
___ 5 to 7 years.
___ 8 to 10 years.
___ 11 or more years.

2. How old are you?

___ Less than 30.
___ 30 to 39.
___ 40 to 49.
___ 50 to 59.
___ 60 or older.

3. What do you consider to be your regular occupation? ____________________

4. Which of the following degrees do you hold? (indicate all degrees held).

___ BA or BS -- Major: ____________________
___ MA or MS -- Field: ____________________
___ PhD or EdD -- Field: ____________________
___ Doctorate in Medicine or Dentistry
___ Law Degree

5. Are you professionally licensed in any of the following fields?

___ Teaching
___ Law
___ Psychology
___ School Administration
___ Engineering/Architecture
___ Other: ____________________
___ Nursing
___ Medicine/Dentistry

6. What is your political party affiliation?

___ Democrat ___ Republican ___ Independent ___ Other ___ None

7. How would you describe your overal political orientation?

___ Strongly conservative

___ Moderately conservative

___ Moderate

___ Moderately liberal

___ Strongly liberal

8. What is the range of your current family income?

___ $25,000 or less

___ $25,001 to $35,000

___ $35,001 to $45,000

___ $45,001 to $55,000

___ $55,001 to $65,000

___ $65,001 to $75,000

___ $75,001 to $85,000

___ More than $85,000

APPENDIX 9.

DATA RECORDING FORM FOR STATE EDUCATION CODES

STATE CODE INDEX BY SPMs

Code: _______________ State: _______________

			Public Value
Section	Description	SPM	EF - EQ - QU - - CH

APPENDIX 10. SAMPLE SELECTION MATRIX

% Pop. in Urban Areas (2)	Fiscal Stress (3)	Predominant Political Culture (1)		
		Moralist	Individ'ist	Traditional
Low (Less than 55%)	Low	N. Dakota	Alaska	
	Med.	Idaho Maine S. Dakota		Mississippi N. Carolina W. Virginia
	Hi.	Vermont		Arkansas Kentucky S. Carolina
Med. (55% to 75%)	Low	Kansas Wisconsin	Wyoming	Louisiana Oklahoma
	Med.	N. Hamp. Minnesota Oregon Washington	Delaware Indiana Missouri Nebraska	Georgia N. Mexico Tennessee Virginia
	Hi.	Michigan Iowa	Penna.	Alabama
High (more than 75%)	Low	Colorado	Nevada	Arizona Florida Texas
	Med.	California Utah	Hawaii, Ohio Illinois Maryland N. Jersey	
	Hi.		Connecticut Mass. New York Rhode Is.	

Notes:
(1) Elazar, 1972. (2) US Census Bur, 1978. (3) Adams, 1982.